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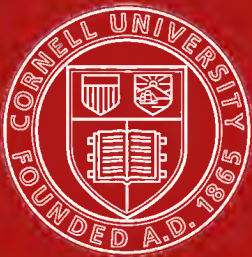
News letters of 1715-16,



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News Letters of 1715-16

ms. 12
Edited by

A. Francis Steuart

Advocate

Printed from Original Papers
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INTRODUCTION

THE letters contained in this little book have been printed now, not so much for their historical value—for they contain few facts that are not narrated in Rae's *History of the Late Rebellion*—as because they are another contemporary account, and by a Whig author, of what happened in Scotland during the years 1715 and 1716. We still need to know so much more than we do about the Jacobite rising of 1715. Of the '45 we have so many sources of information that there is little need for more except to fill up *lacunae*, for the stirring story of the Prince's flight across the heather and the loyalty of the Highlanders has taken hold of the memory of the Scottish people so firmly that it has altogether eclipsed—and perhaps too much—the unfortunate expedi-

tion which crushed the aspirations of the Jacobites thirty years earlier.

The news letters printed here (*verbatim* with the exception of part of one sentence) by their owner, Mr. Charles E. S. Chambers, were inherited by him, with certain other Coltness MSS., from his grandfather, Dr. Robert Chambers, who had acquired them for his well-known historical studies on the *Rebellions of Scotland*. They had formerly belonged to Sir Archibald Steuart Denham of Coltness, Baronet, who had died 12th June 1773. Sir Archibald Steuart—who later took his mother's surname of Denham—sprang from a family which held many high legal appointments and was famous for strong Hanoverian sympathies, to which they clung until a cadet, Sir James Steuart of Goodtrees, who eventually became Sir Archibald's successor, was at last involved in the Jacobite rising of 1745. There is intrinsic evidence in the letters, moreover, that they were written to Sir Archibald Steuart Denham himself, who in 1715 was still a young man, and had not succeeded to his

title or estate, being merely 'Mr. Archibald Steuart,¹ Advocat,' which is the address written on the back of several of the MS. pages printed in this volume.

The name of the writer, unfortunately, does not transpire, although he signs 'yowr affectionat comerad.' He was evidently an ardent Whig, of good family and education, acquainted with the landed class, and actively employed in collecting information from every source, good, bad, or indifferent, and transmitting it immediately in colloquial, though to us very difficult, Scots to his correspondent in a series of despatches or letters which were doubtless read aloud to a circle eager for news.

It is the want of preparation in these letters that gives them their present value. The writer, although on the whole well informed, gave but the *on dit* of the country.

¹ The name is often written Stewart, but is here spelled Steuart. Sir Archibald was born at Utrecht 20th July 1683, and was as 'Archibald Stuart, son of [Sir Thomas] Stuart of Coltness,' admitted an advocate 23rd June 1711. By his wife Jane, daughter of Sir George Warrender of Lochend, he left no issue.

What he heard was at once written down, and what he saw described. The news letters begin with the accession of a 'con-summat Prince'—George I.—to the British Throne, and the growing desire in Scotland to dissolve the Union. This 'cant' led to an address to the Advocates which was 'like to have been paumed upon the faculty of Advocates at a faculty meeting for admitting a candidate,' and of the faculty meeting we are given a lively, if confused, account. No one seems to have made anything of it except 'D. D.' [Deacon Dunbar], who managed to sell some of his wares, about twenty pairs of white gloves with 'Liberty' printed on them, which were bought by some advocates, 'all of the high-flying Tory party,' which, in spite of Sir Walter Pringle's pacification of the meeting, was pretty strong in the Faculty of Advocates. The hopes of the Jacobites alarmed the Hanoverian party, who founded Associations loyal to the Protestant Succession to oppose them, and their zeal was soon stimulated by the news

that the Earl of Mar had come to Scotland by sea, and had gone 'for his health' to the North, where he was organising 'a hunting,' an expression the Jacobites understood quite well as an order to rally round the Chevalier's standard which he now raised in the Braes of Mar. Then comes the 'villanows design' or abortive attempt of the Jacobites to gain Edinburgh Castle—in the command of the sleepy or crafty Colonel Stewart—by surprise and treachery. The Earl of Mar's forces, by this time openly massed, captured Perth without a blow on September 18, 1715, and were joined by many of the Atholl men, so that the growing 'Rebellion' became more menacing, although the Duke of Argyll was busy reviewing the Hanoverian forces at Stirling. By 20th October 1715 a portion of the Jacobite army—now called by our writer 'the Heighlanders'—had passed the Forth, and under Mackintosh of Borlum occupied the citadel of Leith, and had 'look'd in' at the Nether Bow Port of Edinburgh, but had withdrawn on the approach of

the Duke of Argyll. We notice that seven militant Presbyterian ministers acted as volunteers in defence of the Government, and one of them, Mr. Semple of Liberton, even commanded a party of his parishioners. After the Highlanders had withdrawn, the hunt for hidden haunts of Jacobites became more zealously pursued, and Jacobite clubs and 'Popish howses' were either raided or put under strict supervision. The writer of the letters after this went northwards. On 9th November he dates from St. Ringans and gives information about both forces, and he visited Argyll's camp. There he 'was glad of the disappointment' that a man in Shannon's regiment was reprieved when he had gone out to see him shot. He visited Stirling also (he gives details of what could be got at a sixpenny 'ordinar') at the inn of which he met the Hanoverian agent, Strachan of Glenkindy, who was there giving Argyll information of the forces of the Earl of Mar, from whom he had himself just escaped. Glenkindy's gossip is darkly retailed, and another visit to the camp was

made on 'Wednesday the tent,' when certain Glasgow volunteers were interviewed, and where the writer saw, with feelings of some compassion, 'on Ogilvie wheepd for mutiny.' He writes that the troops were well disciplined and in good order. 'I scarce think there is a more showy regement in Europe,' and describes their equipment, being particularly struck by the number of fine horses. Certain 'Letters from the North' follow. These are evidently copies of reports which our writer obtained from others. One, of 16th November, is addressed to Colonel Blackadder, who commanded the garrison of Stirling, and it gives an account of the battle of Sheriffmuir. This is confirmed and amplified by a longer account of Argyll's doings from November 19 to November 22. We get a slightly more personal note in the letter succeeding, which embodies information from 'our freind,' Sir James Steuart of Goodtrees—a relative of his correspondent—which the Laird of Goodtrees had himself received from the minister of Inver-

ness in spite of the difficulty of transmitting news letters, which were intercepted by the Jacobites even though hidden in 'the button, the snuffmil corke, the bonet croun, etc.' This letter tells the doings of the Highland clans. The next letter from Dunfermline, 28th December 1715, is evidently the writer's own. The 'Rebels' have now evacuated Fife, and garrisons of 'Sweece'—we are forced to notice from the information conveyed in these letters how large a foreign element prevailed in the Hanoverian army which suppressed the Rising—have been put in their place. Its successor again tells of the clans, and embodies information from Simon, Lord Lovat, about his tortuous policy. Another recounts new levies of 'Duch troupes' in Fife, and gives the surprising news of 'the Pretender's' landing at Peterhead, and his brief triumph in the Jacobite north, although preparations to suppress this short-lived reaction go on in London and at Berwick. The writer was back in Edinburgh 25th January 1716, when he

describes the seizure of Markinch by Rob Roy (whose doings are detailed in later letters) in spite of the 'Sweise' garrison, the arrival of the train of artillery; and Argyll's difficulties with those who intrigued against him. The next letters tell of the Chevalier's progress in the north, the loyal addresses (one given later in full) presented to him by the town and Episcopal clergy of Aberdeen, the march of the King's forces and their order of battle, and the general progress of the army. The 'treaty' with Lord Seaforth is narrated, and on February 2, 1716, the writer is enabled to state that Argyll's army is on the march, notwithstanding the 'French trick' which the Jacobites had adopted in burning the villages of Auchterarder, etc., and that it soon reoccupies Perth, through the retreat northward of its political opponents. On 8th February 1716 he can announce that the Chevalier has 'ship'd of for France.' Statements of captures of Jacobites alternating with tales of Hanoverian spoliations now fill the

letters. We learn that a Dutch regiment was much complained of, and that the commander had, with his own hand, 'cut out of the fraime a picture of Mary Queen of Scots' (where is it now?), 'and had it in his baggage,' for which General Cadogan threatened to get him 'brock upon the spott.' Riots took place in Edinburgh, and some plundering—'and all by foreners, Duch or Sweice,' and the removal from Edinburgh, for recasting, of the cannon called 'the seven sisters,' was 'like to breck all the old women's hearts in town,' and the Union was again bewailed. Retribution then began. The Jacobite prisoners were taken south to be tried at Carlisle (passing—as the gentlemen prisoners filed through the Grassmarket—the 'Maiden' set up for an offender nearer home; an evil omen), and Ainslie, the would-be betrayer of Edinburgh Castle, was hanged on December 24, 1716.

An account of prisoners taken by the Duke of Argyll ends these papers, although there is also among them a copy of the 'Preamble

to the Impetching the Seven Rebellious Peers,' which is not printed here as it is already well known to history.

The editor's pleasant duty has been chiefly, with the addition of a few dates or biographical notes, the arrangement of the MSS.—a mass of confusion—that they might be placed, if not in exact chronological order, at least in some kind of sequence. The character of the hastily written letters has made it rather difficult to know how they ought to be presented. The only original punctuation was by a rare comma (sometimes misused) and scanty periods. It has been thought best, however, to break up the long irregular sentences into shorter ones for the benefit of the modern student. The patient indulgence of the reader is therefore asked by the editor on account of the imperfect punctuation of the letters. The quaint and baffling Scots spelling is, however, wholly that of the original writer.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

79 GREAT KING STREET,
EDINBURGH, 28th April 1910.

NEWS LETTERS OF

1715-16.

Sir, I know yow will take no exception I give yow a letter of politicks now that news ar so scant. I shall blend in some borrowed characters and mention circumstances yow may have forgott circumstances very materiall which have shaken the fowndations and occasiond the stagarings and reeling of this day. Yow will please remember in the year 1709 Brittain the most gloriows and powerfull kingdome held the ballance of Europe she stood in fairer tarmes of lasting pace and happyness then ever since the beginning of the confedracy. She enjoyd the sueets of uninterrupted victory her affairs under the management of the ablest statesmen and the most consummat generals full of people full of riches many distant states and potentats ambitiows of being in her freindshipe. The Franch

king had attempt all methods by force or treachery in vain and so had he still done had not the Prince of Denmark breathd his last¹ for to his steady measurs and the Qween's good nature were owing the glorys of the last raigne. As a good constitution in the body and perfect health depend upon ane eqwall temprament of the humours so is it in the State for where the ambitiows and petwllent succeed in authorety but not in the virtues and worth of their noble predecessors noxiows humours may be said to predomin in the body politick and the former good habite is turnd to some desperate disease. It was the Prince of Denmark had temperd the ambitiows humor of statesmen. It was he qwelld the jelosys of the people and he it was ballanced the strife and indignation of parties. Now he is gon the factiows party know too well ther Magesties' feeble. They set a grave religiows face on the bussenes. Dr Sarcheverall a man of fyrie and impetuous spirit was there tool he had in a publick sermon

¹ Prince George died 28 October 1708.

artefully endeavourd to blacken the late happy Revolution and trumpt up the Churches danger. The Queen was prepar'd and the faction were sure he wou'd be attacked and thus commenced ovr undoing. The bait was design'd for the Qween and the unthinking mobbe and it easely took with both. The Queen the faction and the mobbe unite in so specious and tender a point all is carry'd headlong before them and those who formerly acted under cover and by the backstairs now appear openly at the helm.

Mr Harly after Earl of Oxfoord was prime minister a man tho singular in policy and maturety of judgment artefull in Councill plawsable in perswading not to be match'd in attempting undergoing and affecting great maters yet of most abandon'd morels of no faith no religion insatiably covetows immoderately ambitiows and furiowsly inflam'd with ane unbownded desier to agrandeze his family and freinds. He had for his second Henry St. John after Lord Viscount Bulingbrook a man of

quick witt yet of most lewd and abandond life insolently imperiows in his charge and desperatly precipitant in his deliberations upon those two with Sarcheverall there tooll that third insendeary lies justly all the imputation of puting Brittain in so miserable circumstances.

I shall not pretend to trace the cheif design of owr rowin throw all the steps of ther management. They wanted only time to have browght there project to matturity and had they continewd a litle more hermoniows in ther conserts they had probably put it owt of the power of this nation to resist the Pretender's having been once set upon the throne. On of the cuning actors in this plot was John Earl of Mar¹ than Secretary of State. His character I shall give yow as drawin for him in Mr Lockhart's memoirs viz. He devoted himself to the Cowrt measurs to which he alwise stuck close till the year 1704 when with so much arte and dissimula-

¹ The Jacobite 'Duke of Mar,' known as 'Bobbing John,' died in exile at Aix-la-Chapelle in May 1732.

tion he headed a party that he gained the favour of all the Torrys and was by many of them esteemed an honest man and well inclined to the Royall family. Certain it is he vowed and protested so much many a time, but no sooner were the Squadrony his enemies disposed then he returned as the doge to the vomite and promoted all the Court of England's measures with the greatest zeal imaginable. He was not a man of good *corum vobis* and was a very bad tho frequent speaker in Parliament but his great talent lay in the cunning management of his designs and projects in quhich it was hard to find him out when he had a minde to be incognito and thus he showed himself to be a man of good sence but bad morals.

This letter parte of the character the Earl of Mar all along justified and never more than in managing his late office only it seems then he did not much affect to be incognito he went throw stich in the party he was attached too and made himself as really significant as any, witness ovr 16

Torry pears peacemakers in the late Parliament it was not with the cat's but the lyon's paw he pulled the chasnut from the fier. Sweet was revange and the grait man's aime was the Generall but the Secretary had the wholl army and navie in vew. It is certain withowt those the confedracy had ne'er been so easely brock nor the glory of ane expensive war lost.

But what wis our Earl's master pice in the plot was his knitting the Highland clans to his interest and that of the faction. He procurd the cheifs larg pentions from Cowrt and was sure to have them punctwaly payed. But to consumat his project he wanted to have Fort William demolished and so his pentionary banditi withowt any manner of restrent. This his interest could never effectwat nor durst the Cowrt for fear of qwarell make so wide a step. Yet by his cunning he had it so far disabled and unprovided that it was next to being useless. He endeard himself to the Jacobits in the Low Country by a scandalows tolleration and the restitution

of patronages. Here lay his strength and he knew it.

What his design can be by a letter direct to the King then in Holland in his way over I know not, but I doute ever he can think any offer of his service will be acceptable after his late management. I had a copy of this letter transmitted from my freind at London and shall satisfie your cureosety next post by sending a double; there is still a great talk of impeachments but I suspend my thowghts till the Parliament meet. It would be endles to give you all the vews and reasonings of our poletitians and as I know you ar not much taken with possibilitys and probabilitys so I send you only maters of fact with native consequences, and am, Yours—

Sir, I transmitt to you a true copy of my Lord Mar's letter to King George quhen his Majesty was in Holland.

LORD MAR TO THE KING.

Having the happyness to be your Majesty's subject and also the honowr of being on of yowr servants as on of yowr Secretarys of State I begg leave by this to kiss yowr Majesty's hand and congratwlat yowr Majesty's happy accession to the throne which I wOULD have done myself the honowr of doing sooner had I not hoped to have had the honowr of doing it personally ere now.

I am affrayd I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to yowr Majesty and my reason for thinking so is becaws I was I belive the only one of the late Qween's servants who yowr ministers here did not visite, which I mentioned to Mr Harly and the Earl of Clarendon when they went from hence to waite on yowr Majesty, and yowr ministers carrying so to me was the occassion of my receiving such orders as deprivd me of the honowr and satisfaction of waiting on them and being knowen to them. I suppose

I had been misrepresented to them by some here upon account of partys or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others as our partys here too often occasion, but I hope your Majesty will be so just as not to give credite to such misrepresentations. The parte I acted in bringing about and making of the Union when the succession to the Crown was settled for Scotland in your Majesty's family where I had the honour to serve as Secretary of State for that kingdom, doeth I hope put my sincerity and faithfulness to your Majesty out of dispute. My family hath had the honour for a great tract of years to be faithful servants to the Crown and have had the care of the King's children (when Kings of Scotland) intrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your Majesty's grandmother¹ when young and she was pleased afterward to express some concern for our family in letter which I have still under her own hand.

¹ Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of King James VI., and mother of the Electress Sophia.

I have had the honowr to serve her late Majesty in one cappacity or other ever since her accession to the Crown. I was happy in a good mistres and she was pleasd to have some confidence in me and regwaird for my service, and since yowr Majesty's happy accession to the Crown I hope yow will finde I have not been wanting in my duty in being instrumentall in keeping things qwiet and peaceable in the cowntry to which I belong and have some intrest in.

Yowr Majesty shall ever find me as faithfull and dutyfull a subject and servant as ever any of my famely have been to the Crown or as I have been to my late Mistress the Qween, and I begg yowr Majesty may be so good not to belive any misrepresentations of me which nothing but party heatred and my zeal for the interest of the Crown doth occasion, and I hope I may presume to lay claim to yowr royall favowr or protection.

As yowr accession to the Crown hath been qwiet and peaceable, may yowr Majesty's reign be long and prosperows,

and that yowr people may soon have the happyness and satisfaction of yowr presence amongst them is the earnest and fervent wish of him who is with the humblest duty and respect, Sir, Yowr Majesty's most faithful most dutyfull and most obedient subject and servant, MAR. Whitehall, Awgust 30, O.S. (Old Style), 1714.

Sir, Yow well observe that now is the time worth establishing a correspondance the Jacobites yowr neightbours ar so bussie (yow think) there must be some considerable worke upon the file. I heartely agree with yow in all and only wish I may be as capable as I am willing to gratifie yow in what yow demand. There ar many springs and inner wheels in a greet mascheen evry privet eye can not take in and that where matters are more publickly transacted the work of the gods will dazle and astonish. But who can penetrat into the hiden works of darkness? Any scrape I can give by correspondence

will be most parte irregular. I propose reither to let yow know things as they come to light than be debard that pleasowr of writing to yow tho in this way first may come last as to a trow historicall method. I am glad to notice with yow these bullies have lett the golden day slipp. The Qween dead! Louis the Great declining! a consummat prince in the Brittish throne! and yet more likely to be swported by ane unanimous whigg parliament. Pray Sir tell yowr neightbures they run upon a wall of fier. Make 'em give over buying horses and armes. Will they be at expence to eqwipe them selves to certain ruine? Why did they not move in the end of the late reigne? Why were they not two months on horsback befor the King came over? But the late ministray were not then impeached. Mar had still some hopes upon his whimsicall complement that submissive letter he sent to make his pace by at Hannover. Pray open their eyes let them see they ar the tools of a disapointed party ar raskels devoted

and must they perish for company. I conclud with telling in generall the conspiracy is strong it had time to grow it has been and is still supported under all speciows pretences in England. The church is in danger there, the mobb is not qwite out of hearte, the cry of high churgh and Ormond is heard in dispight of the justice of the nation. Here dissolving the Union is the cant. I shall write yow next how they manage that popular argument here. I add no more but we have reason to bliss God the fatall blow was not aimed sooner now we ar on the rising grownd and may we still be above the levell of bloody men. I am, Sir, Yowrs—

Sir, There is a mighty fervowr about having the Union dissolv'd. It is talk'd as fresh of now and with resentment as it had comens'd but last year and been browght abowt in King George's reign. We see what a party drive to The Union Act is the fowndation of the Hannover

Settlement. Our torys if this fundation can not be gott removd are certain to give our King early disturbance. They know that such a demand (ill timed as it is) if it be refusd it will create aboundance of enemies to the new settlement. Here the active men of ther party live and it is fitt the fier be blowen here that they can not have ther desier they ar sure nor I hope shall they carry ther design which wowl'd inflame us and inflwence the elections in there favowrs to the now ensuing parliament. It is needles to give yow conjecturs from what arth addresses come there ar addresses for having the Union dissolv'd drawn up and the towns people of Edinburgh ar pressd to joyn. D. D . . . r¹ the glover was conveener and win over to be of the addressing party. The best can be said for him they win upon his weakness and once win him he is wilfull and active enowgh, he is the iron sinnow, but his being nonjuror and partying such a

¹ John Dunbar, Deacon of the Skinners, Convener of the Incorporations. 17 September 1714.

sqwad cawsd those who have less chirety judge there was more then a Presbeterian fanatick scruple at bottome. Some of the old magistrats such as Thresowrer D . . . s¹ joynd him, he is that brow of brass, quhich made the proposall still more popular and wher can it be more so then in a place [which] hes suffred more then all by the Union. A stope was soon put to the conveener's carreer for not being qwalified the Justice Clerk had him dismisd from his office. A nonsensecal letter was writ to the Secretary signd by some of the bailies to have them continued in these circumstances but the letter was traited with scorne and they did not mend the matter.

Now the faction cowld not carry the cheif city the next attempt was to bring the address in vougwe by having the lawers on there syde. The address was trump up and like to have been paumed upon the faculty of Advocats at a faculty meeting for admitting a candidate. It was proposed and their the adresssing party

¹ William Dundas, Treasurer, 1710-11.

was most numerows but it was then waved till ovr solemn anneversary meeting which becaws of the Christenmas vacation we had was ovr till January 21 this year. The affair came in before a full meeting of the faculty each party had mustered up their forces. Most parte knew the qwestion was Jacobit or Whigg. Mr Hope of Renkeilor¹ it was he opned the cawse for the addressers. He was supported by Mr Carnagie of Boisack, the two Mr Murrys and Mr Ogelvie. On the other syde was Sir James Stewart, Sir Walter Pringle, Mr Robert Dundas, and Mr Duncan Forbes. The matter was handled with much edge and keenness by the addressers. Sir David Dalrimple Lord Advocat ovr Dean of Faculty was unmanurly insulted by Mr Murray, my Lord Stormont's sone. Mr Hope had a fair copie of the address in his hands clean cutt and drie for signing. He insisted to have it read but cowld not be heard. It was objected

¹ Eldest surviving son of Lord Rankeillor, who had died in 1706. He was admitted an advocate in 1701, was M.P. for Fifeshire 1706-7, and afterwards became 8th Baronet of Craighall in 1766. He died 1771.

what need to hear ane address read untill the faculty judge if it is proper to address at all. Others thought it was but civill the Lords shoud be advertised to see if they would go befor us in this matter att least to aske our master's advice. Sir Walter Pringle a man of distingwised character reasond so strongly not only against this address of Mr Hope's but against all addressing that any but biggots would have given up the cause. I will delay giving any hints of the reasonings least I weary yow. I need not exhowst this subject when the news ar so barren. Tho the addressers were stiff to the last we carry'd it. The best argwment in such party maters is a vote, but the gentlemen insisted still to have Mr Hope read their darling address so that a preliminary vote as to the state of the vote was demanded, which was wither shoud be state of the vote Read Mr Hope's adress or not, or Adress at all or not, and the last carried to be the state of the vote 63 to 43. The Whiggs having carryd their state the vote

was so stated and there were 57 no's and but 42 yeas. Thus we have declared ourselves incapable to address or dipp in politicks and happy ar we. Yow will excuse my being so tediows on this story I can say

Et qworum pars—fui—

It is natural for things transacted where on is present and a member to make deeper impressions. I am sensible I have dwelt to long upon some trifling circumstances tho it may not be so intertaining to yow Excuse it from, Sir, Yowrs— Edinburgh, January 26, 1715.

P.S. All the advantage the Convener made was that he sold of a parcel of white gloves with Liberty imprest in capitall letters upon the head. There were abowt 20 in the faculty or more were thus provided by him for their money all of the high flying Tory party.

Sir, the hints I gave yow in the close of my last yow put them I think on a right

footing. Those are the preludes yow judge of a greater geam and this but a beating the bush. I like the hunting terme it minds me of our last hearvest's diversion. But to give yow proverbe for proverbe there efforts in owr faculty meeting were reither a beating the air. Yow provock me to give yow some hints of the triell of skill that was there. I know ther were some are yowr freinds who managed this learned debate whose practice yow do not approve and there principels now out of date.

I now can be tediows withowt appologie since yow lay yowr commands upon me. So nice a poynt as this of adresssing against the Union evrybody was gaping to hear how it wowl'd be toss'd in a faculty of Advocats. But here as in all learnd bodys midle sise witts ar scarce ever heard or in our comical freinds words of a more venerable assemblie most parte old men or fools speak and it was probable non wowl'd have opned upon this occasion but such. The first was Mr Hope of Rankelowr. He stood up from the bench and proposed ane address

should be sent up to Court from the Advocats, that this had been judged the proper time to conseat of such, that he was ready to offer in a drawght of ane address to be under the faculties consideration it was now in his hands ready and creaved a hearing. He was seconded by Mr Carnagie of Boisack and thirded &c. by the two Mr Murrys. It was answered from the other side that the gentlemen seemd to goe to far in a faculty meeting it was not proper for any to arrogat so much unless demanded, that the faculty were in use to draw up their publick papers by there commetee who were instructed as to heads and there busines was litle more than to licke it into a shape but here on say it were two or three it did not much mend the mater had composd and adjusted the heads and forme of ane address to be cramdbd down our throats. At this two three gentlemen members of the late Torry Parliament hissd. Mr Carnagie next spake. The thing he insisted most on was the last words Crambd, &c. the hissers baulded out now 'hear 'im hear 'im.' When

it was over a gentlemen from the end of the Clerks' table said he did not understand that masterly way was used. Some (as he thought) were for introducing the formes of other Courts here with there hiss 'um and hear 'ums but ther was no more argwing from the formes of a Parliament to that they used than from that of a Polish diet to a Parliament. It was here a gentleman ^{Duncan Forbes.} from the Clerks' table acted a very unmannerly parte he with a mighty huff told my Lord Advocat our Dean he deserved ill ^{Mr Murry Stormunt.} to fill that chear if he tamely heard the Parliament compaird to a Polish diet. He gave Mr Dean many ane angry saucy sŭr. My Lord was ready to have made his answer in his gay maner when the gentleman offred to take of the pretend offence had been taken he repeted just over what he had said and all was settled again. The cry was renewed to heare Mr Hope's drawght as they termd it but Sir Walter Pringle¹ in his own wining way as I observd spake so pointedly and reasond so strong

¹ Lord Newhall in the Court of Session, 6 June 1718.

that they might have been ashamed afterwards to have put the question. He proposed first to consider what kinde of meeting we were what powers we had by law and next what our busenes and interest led us to doe. He did not denie but we are a society (if it might be so properly called) the most learned and polite in Europe taking the gentlemen in all there capacitys and it would reflect on us to show otherways in our management. It was well known we had no charter from the Prince we were noways erected or incorporat by awthorety and so were not nomen juris. As to our busenes it led us to be of different oppinions at the bar and therefor our interest led us to be as much at one as possible among ourselves. That splitting on politicks would sow seeds of contest and division and occasion a harsh using on one uther wher such things had never been known. He infered it by example of some difference had happened in Lawtherdale's time he observed where we medled with edged tools we had sometimes gott over the fingers as in one undew inter-

medling in the Caledonia tread petitioning to dissolve the Parliament 1702, and why showld we affront ovr selves be divided and perhaps brocken by a lawfull power. Even as to priviledges we enjoyd by connivence lay ovr selves at best open to be the tools of evry disafected party. He concluded it were far better for us if we minded pace among ovr selves and did ovr privet busines as usewall on such occasions and wher any had a desier to addres he might have occasion if the humor succeded to do it in the cowntry under som lafull denomination. I cannot give yow the beawties but this is the summary of the arguments then used as in my last I told yow ther was no convincing the addressers withowt a vote so yow have ther the disparety. Sir Walter's reasoning inclined many for peace and a great many who voted address said next day they wer satisfied they had lost, tho some ar never to be satisfied so longs the sucession stands thus settled. That they nor their party may never have power to disturbe it is the

heartly prayr and wish of Sir, yowrs—
Edinburgh, January 23, 1715.¹

Sir, My two last gave yow ane account of the danger we ar threatned with. Yow shall now see our preparations we ar making to meet it. Some of yowr good acquentance the gentlemen that yow well know wer doing all underhand in the end of the last reign mett at ther ordinar place of randivowse. As they were now under no apprehensions from the goverment and that the ringleaders in the then conspiracie were all at this time either securd or chased away, they were the more encouragd by the preperations they had formerly made, but still they knew not there full strength. They cowlde make a true estimat of the faction they were to oppose. The last 4 years had sufficiently exposed that party to vew, yet many who had lain unactive quhen they were counter plotting in the late times wanted to be now animat to ther dutie and your freinds

¹ This letter seems to be written after the last although dated three days before it.

were perswaded those wowl'd joyn the goverment being on our side. Mr ——— proposd ane association to be entred into, this certainly was the best expedient to unite and ascertain the partie had it been right laid, and I am perswaded this gentleman designd no furdur then that the loyall partie showd all under ther hand declare ther inclination to support the Protestant Succession. But some more forward were for having two associations one in the termes mentioned, the other a contributing of money, the third parte to be instantly levied and payd in at signing. Yow se plainly that this last was a going to far. It was assuming a power the King and Parliament only showld have, and what they cowl'd not but meet with opposition in. However the apprehentions we are now under made a plurality go into it next meating, two drawghts were made of the assosiations the first had few or no difficulties, but the other being a money mater proper officers were to be thowght off: Mr ——— was to be treaswrer,

but ther still remaind on difficulty and this was to gett awthority on the sayed. They were all hearty themselves to signe and contribute but it was thowght fitt to lay the scame befor the Lords of Session the powr next at hand and to have ther concurance that so it might have the more weight to induce others. The next was to have the magistrats of the city patroniz it by puting ther hand to it. The Lords with some smal amendments did concur and signd ther qwotia and then the magistrats came in to it and many other well disposd people joynd so that for the time it went hertely on. Ther freinds and correspondents in the country promoted the parochiall associations with success. How ever there being nothing but appearance of danger as yet, some out of emulation tho I am perswaded otherways well inclind underhand discouraged the project and cryd out upon it as utterly illegall. It will alwise be so in all privat men's projects in publick concerns and the rays of this being from a sett who ar

now called yowng headstrong zelots it was flowted at, and at a stop yow may perswead yourself the Jacobits had a hand to divide the loyall partie. How to remove the dust had been raisd was next under consideration, and it was thought fitt to make it go smuth the awthority of King and Cowncill showld be procurd, and this was put upon the Solicitor. To obtain the wholl scheme [he?] was sent up with a pressing letter to my Lord Montrose Secretary of State and what lenth it was come and evry stepe in it was fairly to be laid befor his Majesty. The inconveniencies it met with were sett out with regreat and bad effects of such a project miscarrying at this time were represented, but my Lord Montross had then demitted his office so that being a Secritarie's conserne it was sent to my Lord Townsend's office when it was first laid befor the King. He seemd absolutly pleasd and expresd himself so. His Majesty was pleasd to say in French that it seemd he had yet a considerable honest party for him in Scot-

land. This air of satisfaction went throw the Cowrt for a day or two but no sooner the Cowncill satt upon it then the reasoning there accusd ovr freinds of too much forwardness. The dark hints I had of was that this was ane arming of Scotland by privat hands quhich they doutd the consequence off. The other was a Scotch covenant that they know not where it might stop but the time this was befor the Cowncill gave occasion to make them more cawtiows for it was not belivd at Cowrt the imminent hazard we were in nor did England take the alarme hott till some time after the intended invasion seemd to be defeated, and the French were smoothing us with fair pretences of freindship. However a fair aneough return was sent down from Cowrt but little encouragement to go further. I belive it had not been ungratefull to the Cowrt they had proceeded, but the Cowncill as circumstances stood, thowght it not safe to encourage the leaving money in the termes of this assosiation, but it was plain it cowl

not go on without a full approbation and declaring it to be the King's minde all showld go into it. Our projectors intended not to mak publick the Cowrt's answer but since it was no prohibition to give out that the Court was pleas'd with it. But there enimies were befor hand with them and reased storys that were not in the answer from Cowrt which made honest people at a stand unless they wowl'd fairly publish the Secretary's letter, and so the assossiations ar come to a closse. Yow will know the wholl of thes projected assosiations from the copys of them I send inclosed.

There ar severall printed copys of both. The associat volunteers to the number of some hundreds have subscribed one copy of the first that for money. There ar distinct copys, one signed by the magistrats to extent a very hansom sum, ane other by the Lords of Session a good rownd sum, and so for others till the blanck paper in the sheet is full.

August 28, 1715.

Sir, We hear my Lord Mar is come down by sea, he has severall gentlemen in company particularly Generall Hamilton. They landed at Elie on the 19 instant. He has writen to his b[rother] my Lord Grange that he loves not confynment and that it is not with any design further then for his helth that he is gon north. One of the best things William ever said is that his Lordship had he gon north for his health had better chosen a physitian than a generall to goe along with him. We hear there is a generall randivous in order to a hunting in the Brae of Mar and have grownd to suspect such meetings. We know that the magistrats of Dundee that were pannals here and imprisond for speaking disrespectfull of our G. S. King George, since they had their inlargement and ar gon home, have been providing all warlike stores they can as bullets for shott, &c., these treasonable convocations and practises under a specious pretence ought to be taken notice of for here they can consort

all their measurs and have them ready to put in execution upon the smalest advertsement. Generall William I spak of befor talks wery deminutivly of the apprehensions we ar under and when it was proposd to send a regement to secure Perth and the country about to the goverment he flouted at it and told he wOULD pay all their loss they showld sustain by Higlanders for halfe a crown. I am sure he is to secure for we have very good advice from Mr Strawhan of Glenkindie¹ that all is in motion toward ane open revolt in the North, and certainly Perth will be a station they will affect to surprise as soon as any it comands and can lay under contribution three or 4 shires the best in the Lowlands. I am, Your huml servant.

¹ Patrick Strachan of Glenkindie, knighted 1716-17. He was imprisoned during the '15, and after his release was very active in disarming the country. He died at Aberdeen 2 January 1726. He died 'not regretted by any person. If he had lived longer the gentry in the country was to pursue [him] for taking of soums of [money] from them for protections.' [Colonel Allardyce's *The Strachans of Glenkindie*, pp. 27-8.]

The schen begins to open and the villanows design appear. I dowt not but yow have had a generall rumor of the desing to surpris the Castle here. I persuade my self this will convince the goverment that there was more then hunting designd in the Brae of Mar and that they will take cowlse with these Nimrods. It was September 8th at night and nynth in the morning that the atempt was designd at the postern gait. Our Ensign Arthur quho had a comand formerly as ensign in the Castle and was in reput for a whigg carryd it on and was principally in the plott and a brother of his a doctor of medecin. These brothers had acces at will to the garison on haveing been ane officer and the other by that means gott ane intimacy with all the officers there this they improvd and corrupted three common sentinals viz. Thomson, Angly¹ and Holland that they showld assist them from the wall at quhat tyme they showld appoynt. There had at severall times a

¹ William Ainsley, or Ainesly.

party of my Lord Drummond's men come over and I am persueded not under 100 were hid in and about the town by the Jacobit party besyds quhat Jacobits were prive to it here. They had prepared their scalding lethers with horells to kep them of the wall the syds of ropes and timber steps they ar to be seen in the laich parte of the Parliament howse and on the nynth of September all was in readyness, but my Lord Justice Clerk¹ was apprisd of their design by a letter the night befor quhich he communicat to Cornell Stwart² deputy governowr, and Liftenant Lindsie. Cornell Stewart made slight of it whither out of knavrie or that he thowght it impracticable I can not tell but he has been judged and outed of his post as gwiltie of the former and certainly he was to officiows with the Jacobite partie in the end of the Q[ueen's] reign, and had it not been for Lindsie, quho contrair to the Colonel's advise was very vigilant, the Castle had that night ben

¹ Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormistoun.

² James Stewart, son of John Stewart of Annat.

surprisd. He went about industriously all that night vewing carefully all the centry posts. He observed that there was a sentry wanting at that post next but one to the postern gate and when he examind the fellow neer the postern gate he fownd him in confusion quhich mad him examin more neerly and under his feet he fownd the rops and cleeks of the scalding lethers and so he gave the alarme. The Com[p]onys that now ar cald the associat Volunteers were then a forming and the most active parte of them had been together from the beginning of the King's reigne but especialy the first constitution was in the end of Queen Ann's reing but I shall afford yow ther story altogither and hope yowl pardon this degretion Some of these gentlemen with Major Aikeman their leader and a party of the town gwaird were in readyness upon the Justice Clerk's advertisment and salied out at the West Port upon the alarme from the Castle but quhat loss it was the garison and they were not in consorte, for they before the sentries wowl

lett them pass without discuvring what they were, were discoverd by the party upon the Castle brae neer the gate so that the conspirators most parte escaped excep one Captain M^cklain ane old capten under King James the 7, and two writer's servants Boswell and Ramsie. The gentlemen and town gwaired soldiers got the lethers and severall very good carrabins with slings of lether. Their fyrlocks were all slingd becaws they had the wall to scale. There was a voyd place behind the wall there they cowl'd have all drawn up in withowt being seen quhen they were sure of the thre next centries and so they hac their plot laid that it is a winderfull providence we ar escapd. Had this gon on and they carryd such a strength so well furnished their party was to have gathered from all places and surprisd this town and no honest man durst have looked out but with haserd of lossing their lives by the enemie from the Castle. God in this has wrowght winderfull for us and shows us at lite expence how watchfull we owght to

be in time coming against so closs cuning
and we need not dout but a crewell
emie.

[The letters are fragmentary here.]

Sept^r. 9. 10. Thomson, Angly and Holland
attemp upon the Castle. Ramsy and Boswel
and Captain M^cClain taken in the attempt
upon the Castle.

[Part of a letter.]

When Argyll made his first revew of
the forces at Stirling the Monday .after
Perth was surprisd by the rebells,¹ there
were abowt 1100 hors and foot. If then
two or three hundred had marched up
they had been able to have reduced the
town and by advancing upon Mar who
had not then a numerows following the
rebellion had been niped in the bud. The
Duke of Atholl seemd heartely inclined to
have headed his men against Mar at that
time and had abowt 1500 in armes, but

¹ September 18.

non coming up of the King's forces to encourage them and the report of a great powr of the rebells being at hand the apparant heir of the family the Marqwise appearing on the rebell syd encouraged the Atholl men to desert and some hundreds of them with the Marqwise and went over in the rebellion. The Ducke was in suche passion at the desertion that he fyred both his pistols after some that ran off in his vew and wounded one of the deserters. It is certain Mar and he wer in no consort nor was it possible for his temper had never allowed him to serve under the Earle who had the cheef command by the Pretender's Commission. The magistrats sent over one Gardner to General William to intimat quhat danger they were in but he redeculed the message and said for half a crown he wowlde secure ther city. It was the misfortun of ovr cowntry that we had had such ane commander-in-cheif under Argyll but Williham and Wightman and Deburge and others under the Duke of Argyll had been his creturs in Spain

and so wer his favowrites here, tho had Wightman had the command I am ready to think he had prevented much of the mischief for he was very acceptable to all and hearty in the King's service but William knew nothing of his buseness. [Addressed to 'Mr Archibald Steuart, advocat.']

October 20, 1715.

Sir, When yow left the town yow know the Heighlanders had passd the Firth to the number of 1500. I shall reflect on no particular person but this certainly had been effectually prevented if on Wedensday the 12 past the time they were making there descent some boats had been mand out against them. Yow know what on Hamelton in Leith did with 7 or 8 armd men how he browght in 48 prisoners. He was of the mind that as they were crowded in there small transports a few boats well mand had taken them in hundred especily if ther had been hand granads to have affrighted them. Besyd most of them at that time were disabled by sea sickness.

But the goverment thowght it impractic-
 able that they should come over they usd
 no precawtion and Providence had orderd
 it for tryel of the peple in this place. The
 rebels took there merch streight for Edin-^{Frayday,}
 burgh and we were all alarmd by 6 at ^{Oct^r. 14.}
 neight that they were at Jock's Lodge.
 Whither it fell so by chance or they had
 made choise on this day to surprise the
 town I know not but it was the birthday
 of the late King James. They made a halt
 at Jock's Lodge and had some of ther
 frends about this city came and gave them
 intellegence particularly on Maloch. What
 ever the motive was it is certain that here
 they chaingd ther designd rowt and merchd
 streight for Leith. Some say that the gentle-
 man that met with them informd Borlum¹

¹ LIST OF THE SCOTCH OFFICERS IN THE MACKINTOSH
 BATTALION, consisting of 13 companies of 50 men each,
 that were in the Rebellion of 1715. Paton's *Hist.*,
 p. 154. With marginal remarks by S. F. M. [S. F.
 Mackintosh, W.S., 1833].

COLONEL.

Lachlan Mackintosh of Mackintosh.

Laird Lachlan,
20th Chief.

LIEUT.-COLONEL.

John Farquharson of Invercauld. *Pardoned by the Prince.*Father of Lady
Mackintosh
of 1745.

that the town would make resistance and

MAJOR.

John Mackintosh, brother
to the Brigadier. *Escaped.*

CAPTAINS.

Brother to the
Brigadier.
Dunmaglass.
Kinchyle.
Fordaroch,
younger.
Brother to the
Brigadier.
Aberarder.
Killachy.
Strone.

Lachlan Mackintosh, sen.
Farquhar M^cGillivray.
Angus M^cBean.
Robert Shaw.
Duncan Mackintosh.
William Mackintosh.
Angus Mackintosh.
Lachlan Mackintosh, jun.
Francis Farquharson of
Whitehouse. *Acquitted.*
Lachlan M^cLean.

LIEUTENANTS.

Son to
Dunmaglass.

William M^cGillivray.
John Farquharson of Kirk-
town. *Acquitted.*
John Mackintosh, Advocate,
Doer for Mackintosh.
John M^cBean.
Angus Shaw, brother to
Fordaroch.
Benjamin Mackintosh.
James Mackintosh.

LIEUTENANTS—*continued.*

William M^cQueen.
Farquhar M^cGillivray, Dun-
maglass, yr.
John Mackintosh.
Duncan Mackintosh, Elrig.
David Stewart.
William Mackintosh.
John Abercromby, Lieut.
and aide-de-camp.
—— Skene, Lieut. and aide-
de-camp.
Daniel Grant, Adjut.
David M^cQueen, Paymaster.
William Shaw, Quarter-
master.

Note.—They were in the Bri-
gade commanded by Brigadier
William Mackintosh, younger of
Borlum—crossed the Forth with
him, and marched on to Preston
in England, where the Brigadier
and the Highlanders surrendered,
13th November 1715, and the
above gentlemen, with few excep-
tions, were carried prisoners to
London, and confined in the
Tower and afterwards in New-
gate.

‘William Mackintosh of Borlum. Infest 1666. Married
Mary, d. of Baillie of Dunain, seven sons and a daughter.

1. William, his heir.

2. Lachlan.

3. Duncan. See Darochgarroch branch.

4. John. He was major of the Mackintosh Regiment in
1715, and escaped from Newgate. m . . . Magdalene
M^cKenzie in 1708. Issue.

that the streets were full of armed men.

5. Alexander d. unm.

6. Benjamin, Tacksman of Borlum, out in 1715, m. in 1711 Catherine, daughter of Angus Mackintosh, third laird of Holm.

7. Joseph of Raigmore.

8. Lydia, m. Sir Patrick Grant of Dalvey.

He died 16 Feb. 1717.'

'William Mackintosh, his eldest son, alias "William Roy," although designed of *Borlum*, does not appear to have ever been in possession of the estate after his father's death, yet he resided at Borlum prior to that period, at any rate for some time before 1715. He was a captain in King James the Seventh's army before the Revolution, and followed the fate of that unfortunate Prince several years after. He was one of Paton's and the Earl of Mar's Brigade Generals in the Rebellion of 1715, Chambers' Hist. Rebel., 1715. and commanded the Highlanders at their surrender at Preston, on the 13th of November that year. He and his friends were carried prisoners to London and confined in the Tower, afterwards in Newgate, from which he and several others made their escape by stratagem. A Bill of High Treason was passed against him, 7th April 1716, but after his escape he got safe to France. . . . Secret History of the Rebels in Newgate, 1715.

'Several years afterwards he was re-taken in Ross-shire, and confined in Edinburgh Castle, where he died 7th of January 1742, after being confined there fifteen years, for fighting against the Government in 1715. At the time of his death he was eighty-five years of age. During his imprisonment he wrote in 1729 a treatise for "Inclosing, fallowing, and planting Scotland."

'He married Anne Price, one of the maids of Honour of Queen Anne, by whom it is said he *got her own weight in gold*. They built the splendid castle of Borlum, which was several years afterwards burnt by accident.'

(From 'Notes of the Genealogy of the House of Mackintosh.'
By permission of Miss Fanny Mackintosh of Farr.)

The last part was true but as for the other I am afrayd at this time of generall consternation the resistance had been but small. One of the most defensles ports about this city had a gwaird interly Jacobits and I ame persweded Bristow port had been cast open cheirfully by them had the enemie come that way. Yow can not imagine how miserably things were disposd within and about this city. Our associat voluntire companies had the night befor this taken up their station within the Nether Bow port and had any attack been there we had certainly made a vigurouse resistance but what else could we have done but falne a sacrefise to the enymy from without and the mobbe from within for the good town is still crowded with Jacobites. Evry body wowlde have thought one such occasion they shoulde have been all seasd. I cowlde weiry yow with accounts of mismanagments at this time and speculations about them but Providence orderd it far other ways to our advantage for we had áne accownt that

the Duck of Argle was within a few howrs' march for our relief, as't took off the first consternation so this deubled the number of armd men upon the streits for now evry honest men took curage on hearing relief was no neer and that the enemie had changed ther rout. The rebells committed great disorders. At Leith they brock up the custume howse and seasd upon wines and what else made for them. They brock in upon my Lord Hoptown's leed, it wowl'd be tediows to tell yow all smaler disorders. They endevowrd to man some barks and boats and send over for correspondance and did rely send one off: befor we heard of Argl's being so neer many of the honest inhabitants and some of whom it wowl'd not have been expected were for setting open the ports and some had the impudence to propose it to and importune my Lord Justice Clerk and the Lord Provost, but the Duck's coming so seasonably prevented all inconvenience. He browgth with him from Stirling a sqwadron of the gray dragowns and a sqwadron

of the black horse. These with the Merse melitie, 400 Forfars foot 2 companies, the volentiers, 250 the new levies of Edinburgh 300, the town gwaired of Edinburg 59, was all the litle armie that marchd down to Leith this day. I am, Sir, Yowr affectionat comerad, and humble servant.

EDINBURGH, *October 15, 1715.*

[Evidently inserted later.]

Mar's plott upon the town was thus. He promised to send over 2000 foot. Winton and Kenmore were to have surprisd Dumfreece and been in readynes to have joynd his foot with 1000 cavelrie after having garisond Dumfrece and thus to have marchd streight to Edinburgh quhich could scarce have misd. Here they were by plunder to have provided ther men and incuragd them for going south quher Mr Foster was to have joynd them with 1000 horse more and so streight to surprise Newcastle.

Sir, In my last I told yow that we marchd all to Leith with his Grace the Generall. The Heighlanders had gott into

the citydall and strengthnd themselves as much as possible. It was ane old fortification and is not so rowinows yet as to be easily attackd withowt bombs or cannon neither of which ovr armie browght along. We were formd to make the attack after Forfar's foot. We had 6 or seven ministers under armes and Mr Semple¹ from Liberton commanded a party of his peritioners he brought with him. We drink now the helth of these gentlemen under the name of the Church militant. My Lord Argyle certainly acted here a very wise parte. They in the citydale were a pack of raskaly Highlanders that cowl'd not be atacked but at the disadvantage two to one. His men were the flowre of the nation and besyds it cowl'd be no decisive strock had he carryd it and evry man he lost was worth ten of that villanows cannalie. These were the reasons movd his Grace after consulting with the other generall

¹ The Rev. Samuel Semple, Minister of Liberton (1697-1742), died 24 January 1742 aged 76. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony, and his daughter Mary married John Swinton of that ilk.

officers. I cannot say but we were soundly well and hartely weired for we were long under armes and it was a tempestwows day. The Duck had come in to town about two in the Saturday morning and lay at the Aboe [Abbey] the rest of that morning and a strong party of the voluntiers went and gwarded him. He was persweded not to goe to the Aboe next night but to lodge in the City. The rebells made ther retriite hansomly anowgh that night and on Sabath morning it was low water and they pasd at the head of the peer. It was scarce known in Leith that they had qwit the Citydalle till they were the lenth neer Jock's Lodge for they left there out sentries to cover there retriet. How ever Borlum in this expedition lost about 150 of his men that deserted in the night. There was one accident happned in there retriet I can not miss to write yow In my last I told yow that Long Maloch¹

¹ Rae's account of this is that the Highlanders, having been fired upon, suspected all horsemen as enemies and challenged Alexander Maloch of Mutree-Shields in Gaelic. He, not understanding, could not answer the question and was shot dead. [Rae's *History of the late Rebellion*, p. 264.]

went out to give intelligence and as was thought his intelligence made them chainge ther rowt. He went to Leith along with them and was with them in there retribute but being a litle off from them about Genties or Geddeses and not answering readely wen chalingd there were 7 or eight of the rebells fyrd on him and shot him dead. I forgott to tell yow that the night they came to Leith Brigadeer Borlum came up to the Nether Bow port and look'd in. He saw ovr volunteer associat companies drawn up there and was surprisd. His words were 'faith the dogs look as if they wowl'd feight' it was indeed a dissapointment for he had been made belive that the city wowl'd have surrendered without strock. So may all Gods and King George's enemies be disapointed. Amen and Amen says, Sir, yowr most humble servant.

EDINBURGH, *October 16.*

Sir, After the intended surprise upon our Castle the voluntires associat and there

numbers still incresd till they were neer 400. There first buseness was to have gwairds at two or three different places in town in the night time and upon information they were ready at all times to search suspect howses any place for 5 or six miles about the town. They went to Logan hows, Roslen,¹ and any other susspect Popish howses and to all places quher there were Jacobite clubs kept and a litle befor the Heighlanders came over they misd very neer caching some ringleaders had been at the principall Chainge Howse at Wrights-houses. There had been there that night Brigadeer Borlum M^ctosh quho after commanded the Highlanders that gave us the allarme heer and were imprisond at Preston and severall other notted Jacobits. But the volunteers coming a litle too late made them miss of them and there were only Archibald Burnet of Carlops and yowng Dean catchd. My Lord Isla liftenent of

¹ The Sinclairs of Roslin were a noted Catholic family. Logan House and other lands had been sold by them to the Gibsons of Pentland previous to the '15.

this shyre was with the volunteer party and took the gentlemens parole of honowr they showld not medle directly or indirectly in the rebellion but how well Carlops has kept yow will see by his present conduct.¹ They searchd at Powburn, at Libertown Church, and many other places and however litle success it had it alwise gave such alarme to the Jacobit clubs that they durst not randivuse nor hawnt so openly and it hinderd there keeping any qwantity of armes together so that on surprise they cowl not arme till gathred from many places abowt. I am, Sir, yowrs, Adew.

ST. RINGANS, *November 9, 1715.*

Sir, you desird me to write to yow and as soon as I came to Stirling and had a litle informd myself I was not unmindefull of my promise. I came to D. as that day I left Edinburgh which was the 4 of Novem-

¹ He was executed at Liverpool, 25 February 1716. *A Faithful Register of the late Rebellion* says that he 'had an Estate of 200 l. a year near Edinburgh. He was Standard-Bearer to the Pretender, a Man of fine Presence and Person, and behav'd well at his Death, but made no Speech.'

ber and becaws we thowght it might inconvenient to goe visit the campe end of a week we delayd taking jurny Moonday the 6 of the same month. had tollerable good traveling till we came to Torwoodhead and after that incess rain till we came to St. Ringens a sh mile from Stirling and where we were lodge that night. On the way as we p throw Lithgow there we saw a str gward of melity in the palace and abowt horse (we were told) drawn out of the e and mid Lothians melita were lying in towne. At Falkerk a town 6 miles bey this was qwartered Evanses regement dragowns and parts of them in the ho of Callander a hows of my Lord Lithgo neer by. This my Lord¹ being gon of w the rebells how ever we were informd tl were not all there but parte of them Kilsyth. We were told the dragouns' wi were so rude as to disput the preferance

¹ James, 4th Earl of Callender, and 5th Earl of Linlith died in exile at Rome, 25 April 1723. His wife was 1 Margaret Hay, and his daughter Anne, wife of Lord Kilnock, who was 'out' in the '45 and executed.

the kitchen fier about readeing there meat with the ladys my Lord had left behind him at Calander house. When we came neerer the campe we saw the forage for the armie coming from all qwarters. The rode we came they were taking it from Dalas of St. Martins. His sone was gone with the rebels but I belive there was some other qwarall with him made this forage be taken so abruptly. We fell in with the dragoun who was going along with the forage and he told us the Laird was in a great passion. We askd him about that litle skirmish had been at Dumfermling. He said he was of that partie that had been there and informd us of a pice of justice the Duke of Argyle had done a soldier. The soldier was unaqwent with the militarie law that one of the same partie can not take a prisoner from his fellow but that if such a thing showld be offerd he that is atacqued has liberty to pistole his neightbowr. Upon this ignorance and the impudence of ane older soldger of the Gray Horses the yownger fellow lost his prisoner befor he had searchd him. The

old fellow searchd him and fownd 30 gwenie
 Upon this the fellow he was taken fro
 modestly craved the half but could not
 heard. The mader [matter] came befor t
 Duck and the old dragown was brocke wi
 disgrase and the wholl 30 gwenies given
 the other. The fellow that was broke h
 since taken on in the Horse Melita an
 rides trowper there [Above the rest
 the letter there is written 'This story
 said to have ben a forward fellow deliver
 his prisoner to ane other to hold till]
 showl'd catch more and so went on aga
 and that he promis'd to divide with t
 fellow was to hold the prisoner, but th
 he that kept him refus'd to divide and too
 eighty guinie a watch &c. but that t
 Duck made him return all.'] We pasd t
 way with hearing storys of this kind t
 we came wher I told yow we design'd
 lodg all night. There were fowr of us
 company and a servant and it was diffict
 to find q'arters in a place so crowd'd wi
 companie. The minister of Abercorn¹ w

¹ The Rev. John Brown (1700-1743).

on and being acqwent with his brother of St Ringans¹ promisd to get a bed for himself and one of us but how to lodge our horses and the other two was the deficulty. Mr . . . and I walkd about in the darke inqwiring for qwaters and fell luckely in upon that stable Generall Weightman had left that morning wher we got accomodation aneough for owr horses and single bed withowt curtens (for yow most not be nyce at campe) quhich was all we wanted. We were very well accomodat in this discreet hows. Owr landlord is on Archibald by surname his wife her name is Sqwaw and a hansome sqwaw too. We were told that night that the soldiers deboch the women very much quhich is nothing extraordinare and that severall that were reackond chast among the married women had falln under scandell. Our servant could not be accomodat without setting the maid of the house to her shifts for lodging and she proposd to ly by her neightbour servant lass above and so went up with all assurance and freedome

¹ Rev. John Logan (1695-1727).

to ly doun but when she came she fow that the lass had a better bedfellow a g lusty dragoon. Our maid with the surpr alarmd the wholl family and so the drago and the maid were disapointed for if yo take their word for it they had gott nothi done but our lass said they were lying l man and wife when she came in. The g wil las was no more to be seen after this s fled the house. Not to detain yow with th tryffing incidents I come to tell yow tl evry thing I saw about the campe was better condition then I expected. The n wer hearty and well and the horse loc cleen aneowgh about the lims they wer litle rough and oury haird with the herv rains but fitt aneough to ryde doun Heig landers. The dragoun we overtook with t foragers told us a partie had gon from t camp to Dumfermling that day we wer the rode which was the seventh of Novemb There was full boystrows wether that nig we were very consernd to here wat v become off them so we set owt for t camp the eight of November about

aclock in the morning. We walkd it on foot and the neer way we took it was abowt three qwarters of a myle. We had the vew of it from a rysing grownd a prospect of which on a plan as well as I can take it I have sent yow inclosd. The great repair and the rains had mad the avenows of the campe very marishe the other ways Stirling Parke be a very dry place. We walkd throw evry place to satisefie our curiosity till we were driven in to a hutt by stress of wether. There was ane officer sitting there burning a dram of brand[y] for himself we proposd to take the same and put in tuo gills more with sugar and drunk rownd and payd penny about. It at last rained in upon us but then the showr was over and we came abroad we saw a great many thronging in to the camp and when we came neerer we lairnd that it was on of Shannon's regement to be shoot for mutiny quhen at the Citydale of Leith Fryday October 14 or Saturday Oct. 15. Now the wholl battalion was drawn up and the men drawn out to shoot him and the pins they were to stand at sett.

Ther were six they told us three for heart and three for the head. When all in readyness we see the fellow come a with his hat under his arme and the c land on one hand and his wife on the o He was taken in to a tent to prayr and a litle befor he was to be brought out t came doune a pardon procurd him by I brough. We were all glad of the disapo ment and as the forme is the surgion calld to lett blood of the fellow and so left the camp for that day. We went up back way into the town up the hill and wind blew furiowsly there was scarce w ing I pided severall poor women. A drur wife walking behind him prety high ke for fear of durteing her coats was pas me at a litle distance and on the syd rige the wind took her feet so cliverly . I blusd and went by. There wer some in beter circumstances. Going up the hill came luckely to a good qwarter in Stir one Mr Aird a Glasgow man brother the provost there of that name.¹ They h

¹ John Aird, ten times Lord Provost of Glasgow.

taken up ane eating howse a sixpence ordinar. The Duck cannot eat better and non need complean for want of cheap eating that have any shift. We had hear broath the best yow ever eat, good boyld beef and boyld mutton with mustard sawse, aple pudings as good as any and roste beef and fowles rosted and aples and peers and chees all for sixpence, and there wer but nyne in companie we drunk a pynt of wine. I write thus particular becaws yow and I have heard among many things said to the disadvantage of the campe that there was no meat there. We had very good company at diner on Glenkindy ¹ his name is Strachan was lodgd in the rume. He was a man of a

500 men raised for sixty days during 1715 by the City of Glasgow, were sent to Stirling under Provost Aird.

¹ Glenkindie's petition to George II. says that 'How soon he came south he gave a faithfull account of all his procedure and thereafter waited of his grace the Duke of Argile at Edinburgh and Stirling and continued till the battle of Dunblain where he had the misfortune to fall into the enemies' hands and by them was thrown into a Dungeon within the prison of Dundee where common malefactors are ordenarly keepit. In which place he lay for three moneths and one half and thereafter when the Pretender made his Runn from Perth and carried allong with the rest of the Prisoners to Montross

good fortune a refugee from Mar. He told that he knew the first motions of this rebellion and communicated it to the Government when it might have been prevented. He had the offer of a cornet's commission from Mar but still excused himself from being at any conference with the rebellious Earle but when he could not without danger absent longer he came off. He is blyth and frank lives in good hope and takes a glass of wine on luck's head. We had there another one Mr Campbell that complained of hardships. That Argyle would not hear reasonable proposals that he had been an officer in Ireland and brook by the wicked ministry tried for life one account

where he was incarcerated for three days and obliged to beg his bread over the windows, from which place he was carried northward to Stonehive being still obliged to travel on foot. And then he along with two others broke jail being afraid to be carried to the Isles where they proposed to have taken him. Howsoon he got rid of them he came to the Duke of Argyle at Stonehive and waited off him to Aberdeen at which place he was pleased to employ him to go to the Highlands along with General Montei in order to settle some Garisons their and to disarm all the Rebels they could meet with in Mar.' [Colonel Allardyce's *The Strachans of Glenkindie*, pp. 41-42.]

of Heigens the Irish Dr Sarcheverall documented all ane emptie ratle I'm shure he was full of Irish impudence. He was to bring of 60 horse if he had a warrand to heve them dutie free he wowl'd remownt so many cavelrie with twentie nods and all. A barberows crowell storme we were almost drowned this night between Stirling and Sant Ringans. I widd the water with my shoos on. My comerad lawght but I was a qwarter of ane howre sooner at the fyre and my kind landlady had a good fier on. She gave me her dry stockings and her husbans shoes so all was very well. I forgot to tell yow a very good story of Pous his dawghter. This gentleman is of the name of Rollo¹ and lives neer by. He and his only sone ar gon off and with my Lord Mar. The eldest dawghter had taken on voluntire in Generall Weightman's regement, says Glenkinde who told the story. We were at

¹ Robert Rollo of Powhouse and James his son were 'out' in the '15. They were tried, and both pleaded guilty. The elder was sentenced to death, but was not executed. His wife was Janet, daughter of John Murray of Touchadam.

a loss to understand how they admitted such a recruit but he prevented our asking questions. Now says he Sargent — behave lick a man to Generall Weightman. The father and only sone ar in rebellion faith it shall be fairly represented yow have the eldest dawghter and so a fair pull for the estat and by chance the sergent the yowng lady's choise may [be] beter then if her father had made choise for her of his own gang. She was marrid some years befor quhen that regement lay there. On Wedensday the tent we got up as early as we cowlde see and were in the camp against sone rysing. We fownd out a much cleener way for our selves than we had gon the day befor and went qwite rownd the Park and vewed all the bownds. We fell in upon the campe at last. There we heard the party wer returnd withowt doing any thing for the rebells had gott in to the Abby of Dumfermling. The rebells having gott a ruffle there befor were now more cawtiows for tho they wer dowble number they wowlde not answer any chalange

given to come to the open field and there was no doing with them in there strength withowt cannon or morters. The soldier we talkd with was one of them. He said that the wholl country people joynd and encouragd them and many went with swords and forks &c. and such wapons as they cowlde take readiest. Our landlord where we dined the day befor had sett up a large tent of dales nailed togither quhich was the best sutlery in the campe. There we drank som six pence alle and eat some beacks and had a dram. There were some of Glasgow voluntires there and we were curiows to inqwire quhat character that Glasgow man had that was kild by a sergent in the armie. They all agreed that it was very bad and that he was extremely qwarelsom they told us to look at him yow wold have judgd him but a boy but that he was old aneough and very mischevows. He happnd to be making great disturbance in his qwarters quhen this sergent and two other soldiers came in. They desird him to be sober he swore it

was non of there busenes and gave bad langwage. The sergent said he wowl'd mak it his buseness upon this the Glasgow man drew a brodsword and fell in surprise so that they retird till the sergent drew his sword upon him and run him throw the loer parte of the belly throw the blether and in to the oposit thigh. He was wownded abowt eleven at night and died eleven next fornoon when his mother heard it she honest woman (said our informant) thankd God he was not the murderer for she alwise expected to hear such ane accownt of him. This morning [we] went out and see on Ogelve wheepd for mutiny lickwise at Leith this was the last time he was to run. He had run two mornings before thrise evry morning throw the piqwet and qwarter gwairds drawn up in two roes there were abowt 240 of them. The fellow cam out all shaking in a blew gown nothing but his shirt on below it was cold frost for what had falln on Moonday and Tewuesday's storme in rain with us was all snow on the hills. Captain Dickson drew up the Guard and

the officers stood in the midle and sowlriers by word of command closd up their ranks and drew in a ringe so that it was concidere duces and vulgi stante corona. The Captain awdably read his crime they opend all order and the lains were made for his passage so the north cowntry gentleman as the soldiers cald him took his morning walk thryse. Poor fellow, his back was almost peelld with the former two wheepings. He was put after owt of the camp with beat of drum. I heard that parte of his crime that he had cald his officer a worthless fellow and offerd to club his musket and beat him. After seeing this pice of disipline we came to our qwaters and instantly took horse to return. We left the town a fyer at St. Ringans some melitia drying powther had fyrd the thatch. Abowt two mile off St. Ringans we saw Evans his wholl regement drawn up upon a fyn plain at . . . and the Ducke of Argle with his cowrt of voluntiers comeing after us to rewev the regement. This was a show we cowlld not pass by without look-

ing at and to say truth I scarce think there is a more showy regement in Europe. They drew up in two squadrons thre lyns in each sqwadron quhich made six companies in all each company had a feryer or hatched man with a very high black furd cap one and a pock hanging behind tipd with fur. Insted of a sword they had a saw at there syd and a shovel in place of there slingd carabin. They carryd axes in there hands and a hatchet under there belt insteed of pistols. There were fixd tuo large things likest to mofe caices quher there horse shoes and nails were they have cleen white aprons and white gloves and rode upon good gray horses. The six drumers were mores with bres drums and the hobys and they roade upon gray horses. The six trowpes ride by the Duche troupe by troupe with a hatchet man and other proper officers. Befor evry company there stood ane officer quher they were to wheel when they came up 5 in a ranke and to evry file he says look the Duck full in the face. I went about to

where the Duck stood and they obeyd that word of command exactly. The two squadrons quhen they had pasd thus took up again there severall grounds. The next thing they did was dismounting and fixing all there horses so that evry 10 man held the nyne horse and then they drew out to that emptie space betwext the two squadrons and there performd there exercise one foot. Then they marchd on foot by the Duck who had dismountd with them. They took up there ground again quhen they were past retird in order to there horses and remounted and ridd again in tropes by his Grase but as they pasd him this time evry horse singly from the right to the left fyld off and ridd by. Yow might see the vanyty of some to mak hansom capreoll tuch there horses to the qwick with the spur. I never in my life saw so many fine black horses. The officers ledd horses were extraordinary fyne with fine decks of diferent scins to cover them there was something very shog and nyet in the apanages of the regement as foot-

men and the servants that ledd the deck horses &c. We came on our way and wer at D——n abowt 5 at night there was no word of the Duck's decamping. When we left Stirling it was given out that the Glasgow melita were to march back and the camp to go to winter qwarters, but that has been but a blind, for we now here that on Saturday the 12 of November they decamped and went to the other syd of the bridge upon hearing that Mar was moving toward them. I belive it is a force both upon the D—— and the E—— the Duck's enimies make a noyse about the Leith expedition and it is said the King is displedd they showld have been alowd to escape, and now if Mare should pass it will be ane other handle. The Earle is presed by Marqwis of Huntly and the westran clans quho tell him they will leave him if he does not speedely go to action, for his numbers say they ar as great as he can expect, and Argyle will still incloss and perhaps the Duck may come up. I hope

God will protect the Duck and his 4000. They ar for the good cawse. I have done as yow desired that is omited no trifle that I remember fell under my ken. I am, Sir, yowr comerad and humble servant.

Sabat, November 13, at eleven in the fornoon they joynd battell and fowght till night.

FIRST LETTER FROM THE NORTH.

My Lord Sutherland went North in a man of war and caried some hundred stand of armes along. 3 hundred more were to have followed him but by the bad conduct of the sciper they were put aboord with fell in the rebells' hands at Bruntizland. My Lord landed at Dinrobin upon September 23 Wedensday and on Frayday 25 he was neer a thousand men. He merched and was joynd by Kilraick and the Rosses and then by the Forbeses. They went streight for Inverness which had been surprised and garisoned by the rebells under the Laird of Coull

M^cKenzie. I forgot to tell yow that Sir Donald M^cDonald was not then marchd up to Perth and had almost surprisd Sutherland. However he got timely notise and sent to vew their numbers and finding them computed 2000 strong he set on good fiers in his campe and merchd of in the smoke. He was 8 or 10 miles off befor they knew he had movd so they did not follow but merchd up to Perth. However there were a party of the M^cKentoshes had armd upon M^cDonald's appearing, and Sutherland hearing the main body was marchd with Sir Donald for Perth, he resolvd to goe and disarme the M^cKentoshes, which he effectwat but they pretended there rysing was in self defence becawse they were affrayd of the M^cDonalds coming down upon them.

SECOND LETTER FROM THE NORTH.

STIRLING, *November 16, 1715.*

Collonel Blackater.

Providence has so orderd that no flesh showld boast. On the field neer Dumblain

our right wing beat their left and there right wing beat our left. There was a vast odds in the numbers. There army was reckond 9 or 10000 men. Ours was not above 3400. Fifteen hundred of our right wing chased 5000 of there left two or three miles. We have the marks of victory. We have taken 14 colowrs and standards 4 of there cannon and about 100 prisoners. We have 320 killd and 114 wounded (amonge the killd the Cornell putts all that were amissing viz. prisoners and desertors). The names of the regements in this action are (there were 8 of foot) Forfar's, Shannon's, Morison's, Cleiton's, Egerton's, Montague's, Wightman's Arary dragows 5, the Grays, Evans', Carpanter, Ker's, Stair's. It was a melancholay day to us all that Sabath after noon for we saw all the fields covered with those shatterd troupes that were broken upon the left and they all gave out that all was gon as the first flyers alwise do. The Duck who was upon the right and saw not what pasd upon the left wing thowght he had got ane intire

victory till coming back from the pursute instead of finding the left of his own armie found the remender of the Highland armie standing on the hill. He sent to see for the regements of his left with designe to have attackd the rebells but the left of our armie had retired so far to come up in time and night coming on he marchd off in good order towards Dumblain. He would have attacked them next morning but they marchd off in the night and he came in on Moonday with the armie and has cantond them hereabowts.

Dragowns in the left wing Carpenter and Ker's dragowns and a sqwadron of Stair's. In the reight the Grays, Evans', and a sqwadron of Stair's. The Heighlanders fired by rancks each rank reteering and not in plattoons. They were 15 man deep. My Lord Argyle seeing this disposition and that they did not endeavour to outwing him tho so numerous concerted with Major Cathcart who comanded the Grays that he should march to the right

leving about 100 paces open and so and so flank them as they stood 15 man deep. The sign he was to give was a wave with his hat. This stratagem gald the rebells so it put them soon in confusion.

Our left wing was atackd befor it was formd and the foot were put in disorder befor the horse came up. What savd them a litle was that a partie of horse under my Lord Tarfichan marching up throw a defile cald the foot to stop and threatnet to fier or ryde them down upon which they ralied and returnd upon some that had followed them and left the rebells main body; and here it was the Captain of Clanronald fell. This brush gave them time to retire in good order having stopt the enemies carrer and my Lord coverd there retreet with the horse. Collonell Care was for renewing the fight but Generall Williams by his fear and bad conduct lost the compleeting the glory of that day for what need was there to retier 5 miles quhen they were not purswed above a qwarter of a mile and

had he been but a mile from the place of engagdment upon Argyl's retorne they had compleeted the victory.

*From Saturday, November 19 to Tewesday
November 22, 1715.*

Colonell Hareson being sent express to his Majesty by his Grace the Duke of Argyll has given the following accownt of the victory obtained over the rebells on the 13 of November 1715.

The Duke of Argl being informd on the 12 instant that the rebells had come to Auchterardur with there baggage artillery and a sufficient qwantity of bread for a march of many days fownd he was obliged either to engage them on the fields neer Dumblain or to decamp and wait their coming to the head of Forth. He choose the first on many accownts and amongst others that the grownds neer Dumblain were much more adventagious for his horse then those at the head of the river and besyds this by frost begining the Forth might

become passable in severall places which the small number of his troupes did not enable him to gward sufficiently. He likewise received advice that the 12 at night the rebels designd to encamp at Dumblain upon which, judging it of importance to prevent them by possessing that place, he marched the 12 in the forenoon and encamped with his left at Dumblain and his right toward the Sheriffmore. The enemy that night stoped within two miles of Dumblain. Next morning his Grace being informed by his advanced gward that the rebells were forming he rode to a rising ground where he viewd the enemy distinctly and found as they pointed their march they designd streight upon our flank. The moor to our right was the preceeding night unpassable and so gwarded us from being flanked on that syde, but by the frost was become passable. His Grace therefor ordered his troupes to stretch to the right in the following order 3 sqwadrons of dragoons upon right and left of the front line, and 6 battalions of foot in the center.

The second line was composed of two sqwadrons of dragoons in the center, one sqwadron in the right and ane other on there left, and one sqwadron of dragoons behind each wing of horse in the first lyne. As the right of ovr armie came over against the left of the rebels which they had put to a morasse, his Grace finding they were not qwite formed, gave orders immediatly to fall on, and charged both there horse and foot. They received us very briskly but after some resistance they wer brok throwgh and were pursued above 2 miles by 5 sqwadrons of dragoons, the sqwadron of voluntires, and 5 battallions of foot. When we come neer the River Allan, by the vast number of rebells we drove befor us we concluded it ane intire route, and resolved to purswe as long as we had day light. The pursuing to the River Allan had taken up a long time by reason of the frequent attempts they had made to forme in different places quhich obliged us as often to attacke and breck them when they were in parte passed and

others passing the Allan. Major Generall Wightman who commanded the 5 battalions of foot sent to acquaint the Duke of Argyll that he could not discover what had become of our troupes on the left and that a considerable body of the rebels horse and foot stood behind us, upon that his Grace halted formed his troupes in order and marched towards the hill on which the rebels had posted themselves. Thereafter his Grace extended his right towards Dumblain, to give his left an opportunity of joining him. There we continued untill it was late, and not finding our left come up, his Grace marchd slowly towards the ground on which he had formed in the morning. So soon as it was dark the rebels who continued undispersd on the top of the hill moovd to Ardoch about an hour after our troupes which had been separat from the Duke of Argyll join'd his Grace. Our dragouns on the left in the begining of the action charged some of their horse on the right and carried off a standard; but at the same time the rebels

pressd so hard on our battalions on the left that they were disordered and obliged to fall in among the horse the rebells by this means cut of the communication betwex ovr left and the other body; and they being informd a body of the rebells were indeavoring to get to Stirling, the troupes of our left retired beyond Dumblain to possess themselves of the pass leading there. This victory was not obtaind without the loss of some brave men on our syde, the Earl of Forfar's wownds ar so many that his lyfe is dispaird of, the Earl of Isla who came half ane houre befor the action received two wownds the one in his arme other in his syde but the bullet is cut out of his syde. Generall Evans receivd a cutt in his head, Collonell Hally of Evans' dragoons was shot throw the body. Collonell Hammers and Captain Arme-strong aid camp to the Duke of Argyll ar killed. The curage of the British troupes was never keener then on this occasion, who tho the rebells were 3 times there number they yet attacked and pursud them with all

resolution immaginable. The conduct and bravery of the generalls and inferior officers contributed much to this success but aboov all the great example of his Grace the Duck of Argyll whose presence not only gave spirit to the action but gaind success as often as he led on the troupes of horse volunteers, quho consisted of noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, shoed great bravry in particular maner, the Duke of Roxburgh, the Lords Rothes, Hadington, Latherdale, Lowdon, Belhaven, and Sir John Shaw. Taken collowrs and standards 14 pices of cannon 4 tombrells with amonition, and all there bread waggons.

Sir, I take all occasions to transmit yow what accownts I can have. Yow will be glad to hear how matters goe in the north with the Earl of Sutherland. I had from our freind Sir Ja St¹ a letter he gott by Inverness post from Mr William

¹ Sir James Steuart of Goodtrees, M.P. for Edinburgh City, 1713-15, died 1727.

Stewart¹ minister there. There has been severall methods of conveying letters privately from thence overland and the enemy has almost as frequently intercepted the letters by information or strict search, as the button, the snuffmil corke, the bonet crown &c. this letter came in the post's hand within his glove and was so folded as to answer the hollow parte. It seems a pretty distinct jurnell and is very laconick as to the style the letter bears date November 18, 1715.

November 3. Lovet and Colloden came to the garison of Colloden. Kilraak with between 2 and 300 chosen men of his followers on the 4 write to the magistrats of Inverness to evacuat the garrison of rebels there; with certification this letter is subscrivd Kilraak, Colloden, and his brother as deputy liftenants of the shyre of Inverness. The magistrats answer they cannot. The Governowr of the rebels at Inverness immediatly writes to Coll

¹ Minister of Inverness, 1705-26, died in 1729, minister of Kiltearn.

M^cdonald of Kepach who is on his merch with 400 men and to the remains of the M^ctoshes who gather abowt 500 to strengthen the rebels. Lovet is joynd with 120 Frazers on the 5th, marches to get a vew of Keppoch and gather the loyall party of the Frasers to serve the goverment, is followd by Kilraack, Col-loden, and his brother on the 6th, meet and joyn Lovat on the 7th, and make between 400 and 500 men and 30 horse. Keppoch flies to the mountains from them upon which they immediatly turn some 4 or 5 miles to the east and offer battell to the M^cintoches. They make appology swear they mett to defend their land of Keppoch and that they will not assist the rebellion upon which they promise to disperse. Lovet crosses the water with a hunder and twentie men of Frazers 4 miles abov the town and lies at the west syde of the towne, Kilraack and Colloden on the east syde of it. Kilraak capitulats with the Governour Sir Johne M^cKenzie of Coule (who is his sone-in-law) by letters

and conferences on the eight, and 9th Sir John is inflexible and will not evacuate, on the 10 a party of 100 men at 5 in the morning from garrison of Colloden, and Kilraack's men come to our shore to secure the boats and thereby a communication with Lovat who was in hasarde between the rebels and Keppoch. If he had returned the boats are secured but a lamentable accident fell out when a sentinell of the rebels fired to warn his party. A brave youth a brother of Kilraack's pursues the sentinell up to the town a 2^d fires pursues him also till he came near the garrison when he meets with one of the lieutenants whom he takes by the breast and with a banded pistole at his breast commands goe to the door of the garrison and cry **open**. It's done and the brave youth in a flaming zeal for our gracious sovereign King George bonds in at the door, when the fellow that cried 'open' seeing him enter with a dozen at his back cried 'the enimie, the enimie' enters. The door is shutt when his head and shoulders are in, yet he fyers both

his pistols amongst them and wrowght with both his hands being strong as well as bold, till he receives a pair of leeds in his body, and some think if he had gott in he wowl'd have surviv'd with glory. A motion is made for burning the town at all ends but God directed there cownsil's. Kilraack prevails with Sir John to evacuat, which he did on the 11th when ovr freinds enter the town to ovr joy withowt effusion of blood or prejudice to the towne. Immedeatly they fall to the fortifying of the place but money is exceedingly wanting. The rebellion hinders all circulation of it as it does of evry good thing. The deputys had much adoe to get 500^l sterling on there own security from the magistrats and community they proceed to there manadgment with wisdom and expedition. N.B. the Grants under the command of Brigadeer Grant's brother and Collonell William Grant came down among us on the 8 or 9 to the number of 700 good men as we have in the North, which advances very much the design of the freind above mentiond. The

Monros came in with yowng Fowls on there head. The 12 the Earl of Sutherland came here last night his men ar to be here to morrow to the number of a 1000 men. Lovet is now 500 strong of the name of Frazer so that we expect a randevous to-morrow about 3000 men for to defend us against the rebells. How long they will stay with us is not knowen but if there is not a strong garison left in this place we ar in hazard whill there is a spark of life in the cawse of the rebells for this town lys in the mouth of the Highlands. We have a rumor here that Argle has gon out to vew the rebells as they were marching within some miles of him and drawn a litle blood of them and put them to a retreet and if there is no more done it is probable they'll take up there winter qwaters and that a party of them will give us a visite; but 'tis hopd the goverment will prescribe a remedy for prevention to that parte of the body quher the mallady first began and quher it may breck out yet and that is with us a good strong garison at Inverness

might have prevented much of this malady and can doe it still. I am—

The rebells evacuated Fyfe upon Generall Cadugen's coming down it was not known upon quhat motife. Som say it was Argl's taking Cadogen to see the feild of Shirifmure neer Dumblain quher the batell was fowght with a gwaird of the Gray Horse gave them the allarme, and that Mar sent orders to them to come in to Perth. Others say that it was some words publickly spoke by Cadugen upon first coming to Edinburgh viz. that he would in 48 howres dryve all the rebels out of Fyfe. They have there spys and intelegence and this was handed over the water. Certain it is they left it precipetantly and there is now a strong garison in Bruntiland of the Sweece and new levies of Edinburgh under the command of Sir Robert Montgomery who went over December 22. They fownd some stores there as meal and a lite gun powder left the rebells forsaied what money they cowl'd befor they left Fyfe. There

were several parties from Perth again entred Fyfe particularly one came toward Falkland. Mr Anderson¹ the minister there had been a refugie in Edinburgh but was returned to his charge and had intimat to his people he was to preach but on Saturday late was very neer taken making his escape in his shirt. There came ane other party to Dysert to press horse to bring coals to there garison at Perth. They were pressing horses and had the beddal for ther gwide but the garison at Bruntiland having notice, sent owt a party and surprisd 9 of them in ane howse. They refusd to surrender upon quhich the Sweice fyrd and kild two of them one was there gwide, and browght off the rest prisoners. On December 27, 1715, they were browght over prisoners to Edinburgh December 28. There is now a garison of 3 or 4 hundred men put in Dumfermling December 28, 1715.

¹ Rev. Alexander Anderson, 1702-1725, translated to St. Andrews, died 1737. Rae (p. 340) gives an account of Mr. Anderson's escape : "but indeed he escap'd them so narrowly, that as he got out of one door, they enter'd by the other ; and missing him, searched all his office-houses for him."

Sir, I send yow here ane other copy of a letter abowt that buseness of Inverness quhich yow may compair with Mr Stewart's I sent befor. It is writen by Simion Frazer of Bawfort heir male of the Lord Lovet's family. He is in it design'd Lord Lovet. I need not trowble yow with the character of the man and quhat inconveniencies he was under about comitting a rap as was aledgd upon the weddow Lady Lovet a sister of this Duck of Athol's, yow have not yet forgot that story. He has had his pardon procurd from King George and was sent down at my Lord Sutherland's desier becawse the Frazers many of them lay newtrall for want of a head except some few Frazerdall M'Kenzie quho is married to the heires of Lovet seduced upon his coming here with orders from the Government. He was suspected befor thes documents were produced and as the Associat Volunteers have been alwise active so upon a hint of his being in town they went and surprisd him in his bedchamber. He was willing to give them all satisfaction but

quhat these gentlemen demanded was
 he showld go befor the Justice C
 quhich he did and cleard himself. They
 stood gward upon him all the whill. Q
 he was aqwit he offerd the gentlem
 glass quhich they accepted and were r
 with him. Quhat service he has do
 can not do better than give it in his
 words, Sir, since I arived in the N
 I hope I have answered yowr expecta
 for the second day after my coming
 Culloden I went up to the countr
 Stratherick, convoyd by Kilraak
 Culloden, with 300 men. When I jo
 my oun men I was informed Kepol
 M'donald was coming throwgh my cou
 to joyn Sir John M'Kenzie and reint
 Inverness. I presently marchd against
 and chasd him from the head of Loch N
 I then marchd and joynd Kilraack
 Culloden and reducd the M'intoshes,
 afterward having crosd the river of l
 I was informd that Kepok was comin
 Inverness on that syde, and that Sir J
 M'Kenzie had sent a party to meet and

ceive him into the toune. I immediatly put myself between Kepok and Sir John's men and chased Kepoch back to Glengary and cam in closs to Inverness, took Sir John's centinals and coves at the gate of the town and confind him in and fowr and twenty howres after by taking the suburbes. He abandond the towne. I then went and joynd the Earl of Sutherland my Lord Strathnaver and Lord Rea, contributed very much with them to reduce the low country M'intoshes to the King's obedience, and I am now on my march with my men to reduce Elgin and the rebells of Murry. The Earl of Sutherland his son and Lord Rea, Brigadeer Grant's men Kilraak's men and Culloden's, ar gon with us in this expedition. We have abowt 2500 men but want horse. This is the real and true mater of fact quhich yow may cawse to be put in print if yow think fit, Sir, the 400 of my men that Fraserdal forced to go with him to Lord Mar's camp deserted all to a man quhen they heard of my coming home, quhich occasioned a much greater

desertion in that campe and Frazerdale being ashamd that his battalion deserted him he himself also left Mar's campe.

Sir, I told yow that Sir Robert Mon-
gomrie commanded that partie of Edin-
burgh new levies and the Duch troupes at
Bruntiland. He has now intercepted some
letters sent over with one Finlason who
had the provost of Edinburgh's pass. He
pretended to go over to burry his mother
but it seems his main erand was to keep
up correspondance. He came to Sir Robert
and demanded allowance conforme to his
pass to returne. Sir Robert seemd to taik
no notice of him or sarch him but orderd
his passage. This fellow had been so cuning
as to dispose of his letters some where in
Bruntisland for fear of being searchd and
quhen he thowght he was not suspect had
his letters and was ready to goe off, but
Sir Robert just as he was taking boate
cawsd search him, and, having got the
letters, sent him over and he is now prisoner.

The letters insinuat a design to sett the prisoners in Edinburgh Castle at liberty by surprising the garison quhich has made the prisoners be more nearly lookd after and there ar fewer ladys and visitors alowed access for fear of corrupting the garison. This was done on the 23 of December. There ar 6 or seven prisoners from this Castle shipd off for London. Camble of Keithack and Drummond of Drummowhanie ar of the number. They have since bene returnd to the Castle the ship being put back by contrair winds January 7, 1716.

The Pretender landed at Peterhead December 30 Fryday 1715, came to Fetter-esso a hows of my Lord Marshal's, from that to my Lord Panmur's hows at Brechin, left 25 L. de ores of drink mony in both. He came to Scoon Saturday January 8 1716. As he past Aberden there came many out to kis his hands and here he knighted the provost Bennerman.¹ The regular clargie

¹ He was sent to Carlisle, tried for high treason, and narrowly escaped hanging. He died 4 June 1733. He was fourth son of Sir Alexander Bannerman of Elsick.

were imprisond. We hear that Syforth has consented to a sessation of armes till Sutherland have a returne from the King if he will accept of his submission and Huntly is trating upon the same head. There came in a French ship and was stranded upon Sant Androse Sands. All the men were savd and the cargoe. There war on bord my Lord Tinnowth the Duck of Bervick's sone and a sone-in-law of his and Sir John Areskin of Ava and others. This was January 10, 1716. Quhen the Pretender came to Dundee there was a gwarde of 100 Hylanders set upon him and sentries more strictly set on all the prisoners. He gave 5th sterling to his gward that night and all the regular clargie were imprisoned and the Presbeterian inhabitants as the clargy ar all whers quher there power can reach becawse they will not cease praying for King George.

When the Pretender came to Fetteresso there was ane adress from the Jacobit burgeses of Aberdeen presented him by Provost Bennerman there new provost.

The disaffected gentry to the Government liquise presented one, as did one of the Colledges in Aberdeen that has ane Episcupall head. (Dr. Midletown), continued there since the Revolution because he then qwalified and has qwalified to all governments since and has no minde to bawlk the upstart one. Whill the Pretender was here he wowl'd not conforme so far as to allow a Protestant chaplan having Father Innise along to direct his conscience. He came forward and was kindly intertend at my Lord Penmuir's neer Brichen. My Lady¹ kisd his hand upon her knee, but he raisd her up and saluted her, but she told his pretended Majesty that that was not quhat wowl'd satisfy her unless the old Scots way and so she imbresd and huggd him and said many extravagant kind things. He generall treats all the ladys as he did this zelows lady tho they do not returne the same fredomes.

¹ Lady Margaret Hamilton, married James, fourth Earl of Panmure, who died in exile without issue at Paris in 1723. She died in 1731.

Quhat pitie is it his pretended Majesty had not come sooner but my lady is past date and perhaps as circumstances stand now the goverment may be my Lord's heir. The Pretender entred Dundee my Lord Mar on his right hand and Generall Echlin on his left he made severall low bows shapo ba [with his hatt off] to the people as he passd along. My Lord Mar had gon with a trowpe of horse to meet him there with eight colowrs of foot that went owt of Dundee. When he cam neer that place was the gwairds that attended him he did not offer his hand to be kissd by the mobble all the way as they expected. He has created some peers as Ogilvie of Powre¹ &c. Mr Lessly a bishop and some others—

Sir Robert Pollock has been obliged to keep closs at Inverlochy. A strong garison in that place might have done good service for tho thêre be two regements there; my Lord Lorne's regement, yet they ar not

¹ A Jacobite agent. The Marquis de Ruvigny does not include this title in his *Jacobite Peerage*.

complete. Sir Robert gives infalible proof that Mar's numbers can not be so many now for a litle befor the batell neer Dumblain any partys he had sent to forrage would have gon many miles and not seen one man fit to fight, but wanting provision he sent latle out 100 of his men to gather some catell and dryve in and to call and see if in there way they cowlde surprize any of the chiefs of the clans. Thes were there instructions but it was to ther surprize to see neer 200 Hyghlanders armd against them on a night's advertisement. However they having gathered the booty had no mind to parte with it so easily. The rebells offered to lett them picebly in the garison so they would leave the catell quhich the garison's party would not yeeld to and so prepared for the attack but the Highlanders thowght fit to retire perhaps surfet with fighting at Sheriffmuir, and so the party browght in the provision unmolested and it is belivd that now the clans will stay at hom to defend there cattell for they can drive

them no quher so far off but this garison may spoyl them and burn there howses.

The Pretender has published a generall indemnitie and declaration for all past befor his landing. They had the impudence to send a copy to the provost of Edinburgh and drop them evry quhere. Here it is supersignd and cowntersignd J. R. so it semes he had gott no secretary on the end of December 1715 at least non on this syde the water.

Sir, Al things ar in a forwardness for marching in to the enimie. That hansom trayn I told yow was shiped of from London. There is but one of the nyne ships come in and she gives accownt that she with the rest were for a long time wind bownd at the boue anore and that the other ships came of with her, but by stress of wether and contrair winds were blown in to Harwich. However Generall Cadugen is here and makin all shifts and dispach imaginable and the artillery will be furnishd from Bervick and this place. There were fowr great guns pasd this place on Frayday

last and some morters and field pices the 20 instant. The ponton that he had made at Leith and they ar gon after and all things neccessary on Sunday and Satwrday. Yow will see nothing here but tents chevle de frise with picks 8 foot long hatchets pickaxes and all tools for pyoneers carriages for cannon &c. bagwes for sand or earth and litle bass baskets for to fill against smalshot on top of the trenches. There ar burdins of pie coats and bigg coats for soldiers carying. All the horse from the cowntry ar cald in to dispatch off all this for the camp. The man and horse is liberaly and duely payd a shilling the horse and eight pence the man, and it being now so violent frost all come readely in so that some times yow wowld mistake our cross for an horse market. There was no less then upwards of three hundred horse gatherd there last day the 21 instant. As this frost encourages them to come in so the pathd sno with the frost helps on there way and I wish as this frost has continowed 7 weeks so it may pleas God to give a fowrtnight

more and then we may hear a good account of the rebels at Perth, for our generals at Stirling agree very well with M: Vanderbeck the Dutch general and will shortly march in. There is certainly great want of fowls at Perth and Dundee and tho they have 30000 pairs of blankets it will scarce keep them warme from Falkland wher they have as I told you taken possession of the King's house there. They are very industrious to press all the country about to bring in fowls to Perth. We hear from London that Mar, Lithgow, Drummond, and Tulibarden, are attended &c. I am, Sir, Your humble servant.

There are some of Brigadier Grant's grenadiers have deserted and taken some out of other regiments about 20 in all. A gentleman was over told he saw some with the King's livery there but it might be some they stripped after the last battle.

Sir, I write you word that Fyfe was

evacuat by the rebells upon Generall Cadugen and parte of the Duch coming here, but now alas that consternation is over and the rebells have returnd. I know not by whoes fawlt it is overrun. It might have been prevented Cadugen advisd the cantoning our trupes throw it, but all he cowld gain was to put a garison at Brunte-land and at Lessly; and Dumfermling is so neer Stirling it cowld not be refusd. The rebells have seven garisons and abowt 1800 men. In it the most considerable ar Couper, St. Andreus, Falkland, Samford, Bambrech. There were a party of our garison of Lessly went out upon missinformation and were surprised by Rob Roi M^cGregowrs party. Yow must understand this captain for the Pretender is a Highland rober and works much by stratagems. His father was hangd for the thieving tread. Roi came doun with a party in the dark of the morning to the town of Merkins [Markinch]. Abowt a mile off from our garison he disposd of his men so as not to let the people well know of his numbers when it came

day and had a fellow to decoi up a parte of the garison as if there had but been 20 Heighlanders come down and that they were plundering the place. The garison sent owt a party of 12 Sweise and 18 Kircaldie melity. The gwide lett hem to an incloser or barn yeard where he said the rebels were. Owr men came up and fyrd briskly 2 and kild two of the rebells but when they saw themselves surrounded by 160 armed men they all asked qwarters but two of the Swise quho were at lenthe desperatly wounded and taken and ane of them is since dead. Captain Innes quho commands the garisson at Lessly was not in the garison and there has been some more forward then wise that have lett this bait take.

The train of artilery is hasting up to the camp. I write yow that the Bervick cannon went by and now there ar two 18 pownders gone from this castle with some smal field pices and some morters this was the 23 of January they went out to Carsterphin. The hevvy cannon took 23 horses

a pice to draw them but the horse being very insufficient they went on but hevely tho the rode was never better it being well payd [by] the snow. They cowld scarce get up the asscent at Castle Collops and there ar 100 worse rubs in the way befor they make Stirling but the fault is in the commisars that receive such horse off the cowntry's hand. When this busenes of forwarding the train was first set on foot there were 1600 horse to be taken out of the counties of Bervick, Tiviotdel, and Forest Twedell, the 3 Lotheans, Stirling, Clydsdale, Renthrew and Air, of quhich there wer to be 163 cairtes with three horses a peice. The Lotheans and Glasgow took burden for the cartes and the rest were to provid the horses and all were to be sufficiently payd, but the comissars for this effect received in such insufficient horse that some of them were not valued above 30 or 40 shilings; for all the horses were valowd quhatever might befall, and I am persweded by this management the train cannot be timowsly up, for the armie

proposes to march and the bridge is to be opened at Stirling on Fryday 27 of January when it is abowt full moon.

On Sabath the twenty second there was a strong detachment of horse sent owt to reconoiter. They were to goe owt the lenth of 10 miles toward Awchterarder and to cover the generalls in vewing the grownd there, so on Monday the 23 Argle and Cadugen went owt and vewd all the fields near Dumblain and Auchterarder and returnd the same night to Stirling.

Evry one here think Argyle is disgusted that he sees the Sqwadrony party is like to have the ascendant and that all the orders he has from Court ar as soon transmited to their hand by means of M——h and the D—— of Monross and that things ar misrepresented to his disadvantage; as the Heighlanders eschape from Leith, the batell of Shiriffmuir, this second incurtions into Fyfe; but the first two I have spoken of, and as to the third however this has been laid befor the

Cowrt by some that have intrest there. It is certain that Perth is the key of all Fyfe and it had been exposing the trowpes to canton them quher they lay so open to the enimie. How ever the orders ar so peremptor to march up to the enimie that yow will soon hear of action if this chainge of wether this day do not hinder. I am, Yowr humble servant.

EDINBURGH, 25th *January* 1716.

[25 January 1716.] We had ovr presbetry fast yesterday.¹ It has been throw all the presbetries on this syd the water at different times. It was in Glasgow quhen Argyl was there to revew the trowpes. I hear upon this proposd march of ovr army Mar is calling in all his garisons. That tratie Isla made with the clans is made a handle at Cowrt as dishonowrable. Argyle was repre-

¹ The Rev. James Christie, D.D., kindly informs me that Tuesday, 24 January, was the day appointed by the Presbytery to be 'religiously observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer,' on account of 'the unnatural Rebellion of a Popish and Jacobite Party.'

sented as having a numerows Heighland clan and yet was not able to keep the clans at home, but by a traty¹ Isla alowed them to goe to the rebell camp for fear of having his men swallowd up and his cowntry destroyed, and in that traty pactiond in their absence not to spoyll the clans of their goods.

Sir, I gave yow the Pretender's progress since his landing Yow heard from me of the addresses he had from the clargie and ane other from the town of Aberdeen. The clargies adres² was gratiowsly received being introdusd by his Grace the Duck of Mar and the Earle Marshall of Scotland, presented by the two Doctor Gairneses³ in Aberdeen college; Mr Blair⁴ and some other of the Episcopall clargie particularly on

¹ October 1715.

² 29 December 1715.

³ James Garden, Professor of Theology of King's College, Aberdeen, died in 1725; and his brother, George Garden, died 31 January 1733.

⁴ William Blair died February 1716.

Maitland,¹ quho has received new orders since he has been deposd by the Generall Assemblie. There were two brothers of them. I saw them deposd Assembly was a year. The adress congratwlatz him upon his arivell in his own kingdoms, takes notise of his being traind up in the scholl of the cross or affliction, subsumes that that school has produced many worthies as Joseph Moses and David, and dowts not but he has had good instructions and hope there religion will be secured under his wise administration and end with a herty prayr. The Aberdeen adress is but short. It takes notice after the first compliments of congratwlation that they had the hapiness among the first considerable places to have his Majesty among them and tho they were not sencible then yet now they reackon it there honour; and that as they have had this first honowr so they will endevowr to be

¹ John Maitland, minister of Forgue, and deposed for 'not keeping the Thanksgiving for H.M.'s succession.' He was received into the Episcopal Communion and died 16 April 1740. His brother the minister of Inverkeithny was also deposed as a Jacobite.

the first in there loyalty and affection to his Majesties goverment. If the adresses come to hand I shall transmitt them at lenth. I am, Sir, Yowr humble servant.

Sutherland is got the honowr of Liftenant-generall and Precedent of the Police in rounge of the Marqwise of Tweddell quhich showse how well pleasd the Cowrt ar with his service, and certenly this of Huntly and Seaforth will raise his reputation for the diverting such considerable. persons quho had the command of Mar's best horse at Shirifmuir is meretoriows service. These two Lords make hy demands considering there circupstanc having been not only in armes but in action. No less then there lives fortunes and honowrs and estate and honowrs for there vassals so that this is a generall pardon which the King may not inclin to give. But the cessation continows and they have noways coresponded with the Pretender since his landing. They begin to declare such as do not com in fugitive from the King's standart.

EDINBURGH, *January 26.*

The King's forces ar to begin ther march on Saturday 28. The advance gwards ar actwaly in motion. In a Cowncill of war held at Stirling the operations of the war ar agreed to and conserted. Lieutenant General Cadogan marchd on Sabath morning with 500 dragoons and fyften hundred foot to Dumblain fowr myls from Stirling on the other syde the Forth quher he took post on the way towards Perth. The same day two battalians more marched from Stirling to Down a litle plase two miles beyond Dumblain upon the same way and posted themselves there. Generall Cadogan lay that night at Dumblain quher the Duck of Argyl aryved Monday morning 23, with two hundred dragowns, and taking a hundred mor his Grace, attended by Mr Cadogen and some other generall officers, advanced towards Awchterardur and the river Ern 8 or nyn miles further to vew the grownd and road towards

Perth and returnd in the evening to Dumblain and from thence to Stirling. His Grace designd to march the next morning being Tewsday the 24 with the rest of the armie to joyn the advance gwards at Down and Dumblain and the neccessary orders were given accordingly, but a sudden thaw hapend that morning retarded ther motion for that time, but the trowpes have orders to hold themselves in readyness to march on ane howr's warning. They cary so much amonition bread as may serve for 5 days march and ther is in the bread waggons eleven days bread for the whol armie besyd.

Take the following accownt of the order of battell of his Majesty's forcess :

ORDER OF BATTELL of his Majesty's forces
under the Command of his Grace the
Duck of Argyll:

FIRST LYNE.

	<i>squadrons</i>	The Duck of Argyll Lt. General Major General Evans. General. Cadogan. Montez. William. ⁴
Brigadeer	{ 2 Portmor's	
Stenwix	{ 2 Evans	
	<i>battalions</i>	
Brigadeer	{ 1 Forfar's ¹	
Morison	{ 1 fudzilliers	
	{ 1 Edgerton	
	{ 1 Clayton	
	<i>battalions</i>	
Brigadeer	{ 1 Kipenbach ²	
Chambrier	{ 1 Palant	
	{ 1 Chambrier	
	{ 1 Sturler	
	<i>squadrons</i>	
Collonell	{ 2 Ker	
Newton	{ 2 Carpenter	

¹ Wills (Rae).² Slippenbeck (Rae).³ Montese (Rae).⁴ Wetham (Rae).

SECOND LYNE.

	<i>squadrons</i>		
	{ 2 Newtons		
	<i>batalions</i>		
Brigadeer Grant	{ 1 Morison	} Lieutenant Generall Vanderbeck. Major Generall Wightman.	
	{ 1 Montagwe		
	{ 1 Shanon		
	{ 1 Grant		
	{ 1 Wightman		
	<i>battalions</i>		
Brigadeer Croustroom	{ 1 Croustroom		
	{ 1 Mey		
	{ 1 Mey		
	{ 1 Rantzaw		
	<i>squadrons</i>		
	{ 2 Stenhope		

BODY OF RESERVE.

Brigadeer Labadie	{ 1 Stair sqwadron
	{ 1 Wilderen bat :
	{ 1 Smitch bat :
	{ 1 Zutland bat :
	{ 1 Stair's sqwad :

January 27, 1716.

Sir, Our train of artillery from London came up Thursday January 26, but the army as I told you despairing of there being here in time is provided from Bervick and the Castle here. There came up one of the train ships about 10 days ago with bomb shells and ball which have been forwarded by land carriage to Stirling. There were some of the shells to the number of 20 stolen the first night. The carts stopped at Carsterfin but Cadogan threatened the village with military execution and they have been since restored. All the use these covetous people proposed I suppose was to break their coals with them. The ships last come up about eight. They were by stress contrary winds sometime detained at the Boia nore, afterward at Harwich, and then by stress of weather put into Hull. Our army has taken possession by their advance guards of Dumblain.

The supplies for Sutherland were ordered off before the artillery ships, aboard of

Captain Gordon. But he was detain'd by contrary winds, as he pretended, so that the artillere ships got him at Harwich. He was like to be brought upon trial for remissness but is now gon north.

Hay, Rothes his servant, came with a party from the garison under Sir Robert Montgomerie at Bruntisland. His orders were to posses that party of Bagowny howse. There were with him 12 Sweece soldiers and 20 volenteers. The rebells tho they had most parte evacuat Perth hearing of the motion of the King's forces toward them yet did send a flying party with Rob Roy M^cGregory to be befor this party of the Bruntesland garison. Hay the gwide to that party from Bruntesland gott drunk and led the way to Merkins. The rehell partie had wandred in the snow and knew not where they were till they heard the 5 howre bell of Merkins in the morning. Upon this they came into the vilage and Hay came soon after. At a howse quher he cald the woman told the Highlanders were in the place upon which he cursed her.

By this time Roy was up with them and fired a pistoll quhich mist Hay very near. Upon which he run away and cryed back 'fight Doges.' All the Volunteers followd Hay in the flight and the poor fatigwed strangers were left a pray to these worse then hussare party of Roy's men.

His Majesty King George has accepted of Syforth's submition and grants him a generall pardon. Admerall Jennings is come down here by land and is to command a sqwadron that will soon be fitted owt to sail for owr firth and cruse here. I am, Yowr humble servant.

Edinburgh, January 28, 1716. Yesterday was solemniesd a thanksgiving to God for the Pretender's safe landing in his kingdoms. My Lord Mar has write a circular letter giving ane account of his pretended Majesty's landing and his going to meet him. He insists much upon his royall induements and in the end tells them that he hops in a

shorttime affairs will take such a turne abroad in favours of the King's intrest as will, throw God's blissing, give them grownd of undowted success but he dars not comitt more to writ.

There are three royall proclamations issued: on summoning all to armes betwext 16 and sexty, the other for his coronation, and the 3^d calling a Parliament, all given at his Court at Scoon. But perhaps our armie that is marchd this day may fill there hands and heads with other things then pagentry and solemnitys. The rebels ar taking all immaginable precawtion they have send to destroy all the forrage neer Perth, and have burnt and demolishd the vilages of Aughterarder, Tulebarden, and Blackfoord, and all the houses neer that might be any way servisable to the King's forces so that they will be oblidged to carry all there provision along. The King alows so much brandy a man per diem becaws of this extraordinary season, and there is in the march such a number of cartes of coals to each battalion and

squadron carryd along. The rebells have been bussy fortifying Perth and have browght the watter qwite rownd the town.

January 28. Yesterday ane express from Cowrt went throw Edinburgh with orders for the Earle of Sutherland to accept of the submission of the Earle of Seaforth and his folowers, quho have obtaind ther pardon and so ther lives and fortunes ar preservd providing they leav peacably. The rebells have sent 3000 Hylanders quho have plunderd and brunt the cowntry between Perth and Dumblain and namely the litle towns and vilages of Awchterardowr, Creif, Blackfoord, and Dinning, that his Majesty's trowpes may find no sustinance therin. The Duck of Argyle pasd the Bridge with a parte of his armie this day and marched to Dumblain. Upon the 29 ther ar 7 hunder of his Grase's heighlanders march befor the armie under the command of Cambell of Fenabb to clear the way for the armie.

Sir, We have now a full acownt from the North of that traty with my Lord Syforth. It was indeed sword in hand, and had it not been for the prudence of the Cowntess Douger and the irresolution of my Lord, to give it no worse word. I dout not but I write yow formerly that North cowntry Marqwis and this Earl were the first off the fields of Shirifmuir and perhaps the fright ther too contribut with the other two to his submitting. The story is thus. My Lord Sutherland hearing that Syforth was geting together his clan at the Watter Bawly sent 200 of his sone's men with my Lord Lovet, a 150 of Coloden's, 150 of my Lord Rea's men 60 of the Rosses and 300 of Grants men; ther went along Collnall Grant, Colloden, and his brother, these 860 in ther march were joynd by 700 of the Frazers quho marchd all streight up to my Lord Syforth, but as I hinted befor the Countes Doveger was for ane accomodation and so it was commund of and my Lord was to send his submission to King

George to be forwarded by my Lord Sutherland to Cowrt. But when the day the submission was to be delivered was come ther was no appearance from the rebell camp in the termes agreed, so that my Lord Lovett resolvd to attack them and crossd the river upon the ice. The men were all resolut and hearty but now Syforth saw it was in earnest sent down his submission they had not so treated so with him but for the badness of the season and that he might have retird to the hills and woods and have escapd them. The King has accepted of his subbmission and sent down a remission. My Lord Sutherland for his eminent service has been made Liftenant Generall and the precedentship of the pollice has been bestowed on him and he has just now got the Liftenancy of Orkny and Zetland in place of my Lord Morton deceasd. The ship with suplys for his Lordship is now arrivd with him and when he is qwit of so formidable ane enemy as the Mackenzies he may be able to doe great

matters. We have it in the prints that his Majesty is to write him thanks under his own hand.

EDINBURGH, *February 2, 1716.*

Sir, I write yow ovr armie begun thair march on Saturday the twentie eight. They continwed and the last of them marchd out on to the thertie, and notwithstanding the French trick of burning the willages and destroying the forrage they had pretty good accomodation. They carryd about eleven days provision along. They marched about 5 a brest quhich made a long line. The rebells did not expect this visite so soon. Cadugen had used the stratagem to make them securer when he with Argyle was vewing the rodes. He alues in publick seemd to declare it impracticable the armie showld march. This he knew wowl'd be carryd to the King of Perth and his Cowncill and it had the desired effect for they left Perth in the outmost confusion one Thewsday

the 31 January at two a'clock in the morning. Ther were abowt 5000 in all. They took two different routs parte to Dundee the rest to Cowper in Anguse and we hear the generall randivouse is to be at Brichan. Our advance gwarde under Generall William viz. a detachment of 50 men out of each battallion, took possession of the place about two in the afternoon. The same day his Grace the Duke of Argyl with the rest of the armie came in upon the 1 of February. At twelve at night Major Stewart of Torrance aid camp to his Grace is gon express to London with the good news. The rebells left the head qwarters in prety good condition. Ther were both provisions and armes in abowndance. The garisons in Fyfe were soon evacuat. Those at Falkland on hearing the King's armie were possessd of Perth marchd down to Dundee cross Tay January 31. They gave it out quhen they left Perth that they declind fighting becawse in a fourtnight they expect forreign aid. I dowt not but they most wait for this at

Aberdeen for I am perswaded our armies will be capable of investing all the sea coast betwext and that even in this rigorows season, and it will be hard if ovr flett letts no freinds slipp by to joyn the rebells at Bon Accord. This proceedings will spoyll the pretended King's matching with the Duck Regent of France his dowghter and his underhand dealings will be too late to doe service to his sone in law in Fieri. I am, Sir, Yowr humble servant.

Collnell [Hay¹] has took possession of Perth by surprise for the rebells abowt the 17 of September 1715; so they have had more then 4 months peacable possession of that place. The prisoners they took at Dumblain were taken north befor this to Killemuir. The Pretender continued to hear mess all the time he was at Scoon. This disoblidg'd many quho flaterd them-

¹ John Hay, brother of the Earl of Kinnoull, took possession of Perth on 18 September 1715, with 2000 men.

selves and others that he was protestant but he insists upon his father's dieing advice. He has made a speech in his Cowncill licke a valedictory oration and I fancy the schens will very soon be shut for few have joynd since his landing. He took notice of his former expedition that he was hindred from landing in Scotland and now that he was come he apprehended himself to be in greater danger then ever : upon quhich he weepd.

February 3, 1716.

Sir, the rebells have left behind them ther cannon abowt 18 iron and 3 brass pices. They sunk thes bress guns in the river and have left all ther carriages and heavy bagage so that they took litle more with them then quhat they carryd on ther backs. Ther was a small garison on the way to Perth offerd resistance. It was that in Tulebairne howse commanded by C^t. Cambell brother to Glenlyon. 10 granna-deers with ane officer were sent up to

attack it. They fyrd from all the windows of the place but killd non of our men and when they saw twow field pices planted against them they yealded prisoners at discretion, this was on the 30. instant. This same day Mr Arthur Elphingston¹ sone to Balmirano a captain deserted from Dumfermling. This gentleman had been suspended and was repond upon Argyl's coming down. It seems he loves to play a desperat game. The Duke and General Caduggen marchd yesterday from Perth and lodgd last night at Errol howse. They ar this day at Dundee. The armie is to march by division parte from Perth and parte from Dundee to randevows at Monross. The rebells ar marching streight for Aberdeen. Ther were a party of the rebells carrying of some brandy from a marchant, he perswaded them they wowl'd carry it the better thy took a dram befor hand and so gott them detain'd till a party

¹ The sixth Lord Balmerino. He escaped to the Continent, returned later to Scotland, went 'out' in 1745, and was executed 18 August 1746.

of the King's troupes were come up. Upon his warning, the Heilanders and the brandy were both securd without strock of sword. I am, Sir, Yowr humble servant.

Sir, I now send yow a letter of politiecks. This bloodless victory will not redownd I am afrayd to owr general's reputation ther ar a party I told yow had ther horns in his syd and they begin to improve this. The Duke was certainly to blame in offring two capitulations to the Cowrt, on ridgid, the other milde, they were both negotiat with his ant the Cowntess Murry at Stirling. It was plain the rebells had both ways been in his power the ridgid had put them so and the other had obligd him to be of his intres by helping them out of ther invaglements but both were rejected; and it was at this time the articles of his brother's tratie with the rebells was laid befor the Court. Ther he promisd not to destroy ther country in ther absence so they wOULD

leave him and not pillage his brother's highlands. Upon these emergents Generall Cadugen came down he pressd the Duck to march forward now all the troupes were come up. The Duck seemd not to go in with his instances but a councill of war was called in the quhich the Duck told them he had calld them to deliberat of mesours most convenient, and that he wishd it was not impracticable at least of dangerows consequence to march in with ane armie of fatigwd men, some with a long sea voage, others with as long a land march, and besid the other inconveniences of wanting a train switable for such ane armie. Here his Grace was again to blame, for in a Cowncill of war the preces is not to preoccupuy the generalls but, begining from the yowngest, he is to aske the advice rownd of all and in the last to reason on it himself. How ever he past this pice of forme and it had the end he proposd for all seemd to go in with his wish till it came at last to Generall Cadugen and he was openly for pushing forward. He took of the

Duck's reasons that now the men had been accustomed and hardened by fatigue it would do better to march forward, for should they go in to winter quarters the spring coming on they might fall in sickness and so diminish quicker as now there was no odds. In ten days more marching that he could dispose so that there might be a swiftable train. However the result of the Council was it is not fitt to attack in this season but the powers above thought not so, for down came a thundering letter to march with all dispatch and a sting in the tail of it this galled his Grace, but there was no defeating such orders and now it has proven but a bugbear what he mustered up and the Court has been put to charge the country and Cadogan to trouble of a needless train of artillery. It certainly will be used to lessen the Duck's character for he wisely persuaded them their numbers were more and that they would stand by it. They have indeed very tamely quitted their head quarters and that the only night their King had ever lodged there with them and

he had not been 3 howrse in bed neither till he was forsd to his shifts. Many ar of oppinion he might have marchd with the same success after the battell of Shirriffmuir, and then the thing had not made such noise in Europe by a pretender's landing and the pope his making publick prayers in the English church at Rome on St. Thomas day.

February 4. Sir, To let yow a litle furder into owr politicks they will aske yow why did not the Duck set gwaird upon the rebells at Leith to intercept and cutt them off in ther retraits? Why when they had reteerd to Ceaton¹ howse not atack them ther and beat down the hows abowt ther years or fight them since they were not discusd in the Citydall? But Mar wanted of the sent. He made to pas forth and so coverd ther retraits. But this say thay was impossible and gave the rebells new curage nay impudence and as it throw in the fier

¹ Seaton.

into Sowth Brittain so it made them offer the tratys afterward. But February 2 came up the Portmachon, she saluted the flag that is here hoisted in our firth aborde the Oxford for Admerall Jennings. Ther came in her one Liftenant M^cNeill of Captain Monroe's Independant Company. This gentleman was immediatly closeted by the Lord Provost quher he deliverd in my Lord Lovet's leters and others. His news he gave out are Sutherland was gon home and had been so for some time. That all was done by Lovet and that the deputy liftenants impeded the King's busines in thes partes, particularly Mr Duncan Forbess, and spoke some good of his oun Captain but not a word to my Lord Sutherland's advantage. The Justice Clerk sent for him and he denyd to give up letters write by Sutherland to my Lady Maitland his sister. My Lord told he doutd not ther were letters of importance under her cover and for himself. However M^cNeill said he was orderd to deliver them himself quhich was not done till after the ordinary

post was gon, and then it appeard the Justice Clerk had not been mistaken, but however it cost his lordship the trouble to send of ane express to be up with the common post. This was but a poor shift and M^cNeil is certenly a raskale for the letters from my Lord Sutherland wer dated from aboard the man of war where he had been waiting on the livering the stores at Inverness, but the spite is at Sutherland becaws he is supported by the Sqwadrony. How high these devisions may rise I know not but yow see owr generall wants not his creatwrs heere to practise for him and this M^cneill has but acted a bad parte. Yow will think it very strange news I write that efter the Jacobite party have been so often disapointed, inteerly defete in England, and now so baffled in the North, yet they showld have the impudence to attempt surprising Edinburgh Castle. I can scarce myself give it credit but the story is so. Ther was on Thursday the 2 instant a leter sent to Brigadeer Preston deput governowr signd J: Grant wherein

he is warnd to look well to the garison and prisoners for ther was certenly a design to surprise him and the honest party in the Castle and set the prisoners at liberty. That night and Fryday morning ther ar two companies of Grant's men in the garrison and one Liftenant Cumming, a sone of Cumming of Altar's, had command of the gwaird. The Brigadier having this alarming letter went the rownd that night and fownd some things out of order that (yet) nothing to give any umbrage of a design untill he came to the gwaird quher he fownd not Coming who commanded it. He askd quher he was and was told he was in with the prisoners. This happned to be after the prisoners showld have been all shutt in abowt 12 at night. The Brigedeer cawsd call him and he was fownd with the Lord Lyon. This concuring with Brigadeer Preston's information, procurd Cumming be put in arrest. Mr Cumming has his father and his brother in the rebells camp and was in the North himself till the rebellion brock openly owt. This is all that

I can write yow of this story. My opinion is had this letter not been dropd ther had been some stir for some letters of my Lord Mar's taken off ane old woman near Burly howse had some mystical things about a design on Edinburgh, but he feard the signall wOULD be to late given, and the last two companys of Grant's men that were in the Castle have proven but raskells for so wer they corrupted here that they were no sooner reliev'd and gott up to Stirling but a sergent and 12 men deserted. Ther ar some of the Duch that had been seduced to go over to the rebels. They had two gwinies in hand and a promise of more pay but were catchd on the Fyfe syde and taken in prisoners to the Castell here December 31. This I forgot to write yow last. I hear ther gwid on the Fyfe syde trapand them and led them in to be catchd *falere falantem non est fraus*.

Ther have been two of the Sweis shot at Lithgow for mutiny. The ceremony was very formall. The Cowncill of war sat in the fields quher the Horsmarket uses to be

had a table covered with black befor them. They were fownd gwiltie and condemd, two of three to die by lotte. The lotts wer not as with us throwing dize but each fellow gave in a white stick and these were browght before the preces of the Cowrte and he not knowing quhich is quhich breaks two and the wholl stick escapes. So the broken sticks were instantly led out to execution after the chaplan had exorted them and they had prayd.

February 8, 1716.

The Pretender is now shipd of for France. Mar his freind is along and my Lord Penmuir with the atendants and French officers came over with him. He went of on from Montrose Saturday 9 at night February 5 (4) he gave his armie the slipe and his freinds ar left to shift for themselves. Our armie I can not give the trow disposition of it. They marched in two lines with a body of reserves behind. It consisted in all of fowrten sqwadrons and 20 battalions. On the first

line Commander in chief Argyle, in the right wing Cadogen, in the center Sabin, and in the left General Evans. The brigadeers in ther order. In the 2^d line Stenex, Vanderbeck, and Wightman. William commanded the advance gwaird. The armie consisted of abowt 11000 effective men. The magazen of meall and wheat at Perth was some hundred bolls quhich the Duck has cawsd distribute to severall distresd familys. They ar marching streight up to Aberdeen and will be at Stonhyve about 14 miles from that place this night. Major Cathcart is gon this day up with the news of the Pretender's being ship'd off for France. The Pretender will be oblidgd now quhen he lands to take up his old seaman disgwises. It was in that he passd at Dunkerk when he came over and had come along from Brittanie thro' Picardy and Normandy in the same dress. The ship he came in was loded with brandy had her clirence for Noraway and set owt that way but landed him at Peterhead with liqwor &c. he had need

of spirits artificial to support him as I hear.

Ther has abowt 90,000 thowsand pownd in specie been sent down at 3 diferent times for paying the armie. Ther came in abowt 30,000 gwinies on Monday last and was taken up in coach to the Castle the 6 of February.

Sir, I can now fullfill my promise to send yow the Episcopall clargies adress the King at large but shal first give yow a copy of the King's letter to my Lord Sutherland—George R.

My Lord Earl of Sutherland—I having been informed from severall partes of the good service yow do me, and of the wise disposition yow have made to mentain that important post of Inverness I wowl'd not lett slipe the occasion that offers itself to assure yow that I am very sensible of so usefull service and quhich yow may depend I will not forget. I hope yow will continue them with more attention then ever now

that my armie is upon the poynt of marching against the rebells. I do not dout but the shipe quhich carrys to yow armes and money has reached yow by this time so I pray God my Lord Earl of Sutherland to have yow in his safe and holy keeping—

To the King's most exelent Majesty¹—

The humble Address of the Episcopall Clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen presented to his Majesty by the reverend Doctors James and George Gardens, Dr Burnet,² Mr Dunbreck,³ Mr Blair,⁴ and Mr Maitland at Fetterosse. December 29, 1715, introduced by his Grace the Duke of Mar and the Right Honorable the Earl Marishall of Scotland—Sir, We yowr

¹ Printed (in English) in Rae's *History of the Late Rebellion*, pp. 352-354.

² Dr. Andrew Burnett, minister of Aberdeen, was deposed as a Jacobite in 1716, and died 24 October 1718.

³ Formerly chaplain to the Earl Marischal. He did not return to Aberdeen until 1717, when he found the Episcopal Church in a state 'similar to that of the Jews in Babylon.'

⁴ Rev. William Blair, died in 1716.

Majestys most faithfull and dutefull subjects the Episcopall clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen do from our hearts render thanks to Almighty God for yowr Majestys safe and happy arrivall into this yowr antient kingdom of Scotland quher yowr royall presence was so much longd for and so necessary to animat yowr loyall subjects, our noble and generous patreots, to go on with that invincible curage and resolution quhich they have hitherto so successfully exerted for the recovery of the rights of their King and country, and to excite many other of yowr good subjects to joyn them who only wanted this great encuragement.

We hope and pray that God may open the eyes of such of yowr subjects as malitiows and self designing men have industriowsly blinded with prejudices against yowr Majesty, as if the recovery of yowr just right wold rowin ovr religion libertys and property quhich by the overturning of these rights have been heighly incrochd upon, and we ar perswaded that yowr

Majesty's justice and goodness will settle and secure these just priveledges to the conviction of yowr most malitiows enemies. Almighty God has been pleasd to train up yowr Majesty from your infancy in the school of the Cross in quhich the Divin grace inspires the mind with true wisdome and virtue and gwairds it against these false blandishments by which prosperity corrupts the heart, and as this school has sent forth the most illustriows princes as Moses, Joseph, and David, so we hope the same infinitely wise and good God designs to make yowr Majesty not only a blissing to yowr own kingdoms and the true father of them but also a great instrument of the generall peace and good of mankind. Yowr princely virtues ar such that in the esteem of the best judges yow ar worthy to wear a croun tho yow had not been born to it quhich makes us confident that it will be yowr Majesty's cair to make yowr subjects a hapy people and so to secure them in ther religion libertys and property as to leave no just

grownd of distrust, and to unit us all in true christianity according to the gospell of Jesus Christ and the practice of the primitive christians. We adore the goodness of God in preserving yowr Majesty amidst the many dangers to quhich yow have been exposd and notwithstanding the hellish contrivances formd against yow for encouraging assassins to murder yowr royall person a practice abhord by the very heathen. May the same mercyfull providence continue still to protect yowr Majesty to prosper yowr armes to turne the hearts of all the people toward yow, to subdue these quho resist yowr just pretentions, to establish yow on the throne of yowr ancestors, to grant yow a long and happy reign to bliss yow with a royall progeny, and at last with ane immortall crown of glory and as it has been still is and shall be ovr cair to instill into the mindes of the people true loyalty to yowr Majesty, so that is the earnest prayer of, May it pleas yowr Majesty, Yowr Majesty's most faithfull most dutefull and most

humble subjects and servants. **Answer.**

I am very sensible of the zeal and loyalty yow have expresd for me and shall be glad to have opportunitys of giving yow marks of my favowr and protection.

This Address is the true spirite of the nurslings of the late wicked ministry and the rubrick of our toleration act answers not well with the character of a set of men that in ther first addresses to a prince they have grownd to suspect, mentions not on sillable of the protestant religion, judge if this indulgence latly given be to persons of scrupulows concencess if we juge the flocks by the pastors.

Siforth has refused to surrender and is gon to the hills, however ther ar great numbers of the rebells daylay surender themselvs since the Pretender and Mar have stoll off at Montross, for he left a letter behind him to Generall Gordon who commanded his armie and this was opened at Aberdeen. It bore orders for them to shift for themselves and they were oblidge to leave that place with

great precipitation. Admiral Jennings has sent abowt to bring off all barks and boats or to disable them. Ther was a vessel at Aberdeen belongd to Cornell Middleton's brother, Argyl at the Cornall's intratie granted her a protection and that shipe is since gon off with a number of the rebells for France. They had been lurcking about Aberdeen. Ther was a boate-full of the rebells cast away neer Inverlochty that were essaying to gett over to some of the Western Islands ~~and we~~ (*sic, deleted*) ~~here ther is such ane other cargee lost in Pentland firth betwen Caitness and Orkney.~~ Ther ar severall persons of destinction left in very sorry condition and ar marchd up to the Highlands with Generall Gordon and the clans. Argyl is gon off for London February 28 and how the armie is qwartered yow have it in the Currant I send enclosd.

Cornall Balfowr ane old Jacobit Cornall quho was made governowr of Perth after

Cornall Hay quho first surprisd the place for the rebels was gon off for France, surrenderd himself to Sir John Cuningham of Robertlan,¹ February 15, 1716, at Din-robin Castle. This Cuningham belongs to (sic, deleted) the Kings gwairds ~~at London~~ and came down in the Lark from London the shipe that browght my Lord Sutherland supplys. Ther was aboard 1000 gwenies, 1000 stand of armes, and 20 barells of powder, and 20 baralls of lead. Sinclar of Stemster² plaid ane ill aftergame in Caitness they ar there far from inteligence. This gentleman had occasion to be with some of Mar's emisaries and was so far seduced as to be present and active in proclaiming the Pretender in Thurso, perhaps yowll know the gentleman better by the name of Dunbeth he has used thes years past,

¹ This is interesting, as in most of the Baronetages John Cuningham of Wattiestoun is stated not to have assumed the title, although his kinsman Sir David Cuningham of Robertland died shortly after August 1705.

² Sir James Sinclair of Dunbeth, a pronounced Jacobite and Episcopalian, and 'a very violent man.' He long survived the '15. [Information supplied by the Rev. A. Mackay, Westerdale Manse, Halkirk.]

but he write to my Lord Sutherland that it was a calumny raisd by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, quho becaws having been gwilty wowld have others in the same condition. Sir Robert came off after the battell of Shirifmuir and seems to act vigurowsly to regain his reputation. He says that Dunbeth had garisond his house, but quhen Sutherland sent there there were neither men nor armes in it. Sir Robertt is a member of the present Howse of Commons and was standard bearer in my Lord Huntly's sqwadron of horse at Shirifmuir. My Lord Huntly has now surrenderd and writ to all his clan to back my Lord Sutherland's order viz. that they surrender there persons and deliver up there armes and horses to the Goverment against such a day. This order is by my Lord Sutherland publishd throw all that districk of 6 Northren shirs including Orkny all under his liffenancy. It was read in evry paroch church from the pulped that it might be the more certainly intimat to the rebells. My Lord is come up in a

man of war that is ordered to attend him and is to go shortly from this place for London in the same ship becawse of his being so much troubled with the gowte. Generall Cadugan and Generall Evens ar come to this place. I am, Sir, Yowrs—

EDINBURGH, *March* 11, 1716.

Cornall Balfower¹ when he surenderd tolld he had aneough of there yowng King and that he was not for the hills and wowld ingadge to be a dewtyfull subject to King George if he pardond him, and if he was hangd it was no great mater, being so old he had not long to leave, but after such a trick he showld never serve that King that he belived divell on drop royall blood had in his vains. My Lord Sutherland took it amiss that some body too officiows showld have cawsd incert a copy of the King's

¹ John Balfour of Fernie, son of the third Lord Balfour of Burleigh. His estates were forfeited and he was sentenced to death, but the sentence was not carried out. He died 8 September 1725.

letter to him in the publick prints from London. Dalfolys' brother was blamd.

Sir, Yow write me to know if the storys ar trow of the King's armie having plundred the North. The Jacobits agrandize evry litle circumstance to there oun advantage as they think when they blecken the servants to the goverment: the rebells retribute was so precipitant from Perth yow cannot dowt but the march of the King's armie was as qwick as possible to prevent in that consternation the rebells fortifying any pass, and ther was but a short time in ther march from Perth to Aberdeen, and all that way for the time they had yow need not doubt but ther was marroding, ther being no provees nor gwaird to prevent it in such an unexpected succes. But after the armies coming to Aberdeen all were under good discipline and ther was litel or no plundering, or irregularities were severly punishd this I can assure yow off from good information. The gentleman was on the place

that told me and had both of Argyl's highlanders and some of the Duch trowpes qwarterd on his tennants. He told me likewise a pice of justice Generall Vanderbeck did the cowntry at Monross. All ther bagage was searchd and evrything that appeard to belong to the cowntry was taken out and browght to the publick marcket place on the market day and ane intimation made that evry one that cowl'd instruct any thing was his had it returnd him. Count Vanso's regement of Duch were much complend of and Generall Cadigen reprimanded him for not keeping disciplin which he refusd with some warmth, but was told that he had incuriged such practices and that with his oun hand had cut out of the fraime a picture of Mary Qween of Scots and had it in his baggage. The Count stormd at this but Generall Cardigen was plainer then plesant and said if he talkd more so he wowld call a Councill of war and have him brock upon the spott and that his behaviowr showld be represented to the States.

Cornell Neutton ane English cornell of dragowns had in his baggage a fine sowd bed lind with welwet valowd at ane hundred and 50 pownd sterling taken out of Garentilly howse. It had belonged to the family of Newwarke. It was put aboard the artillery ships with the Cornell's other baggage and by ane order of Generall Cardigen was browght from aboard and delivered to the ouners. These ar the two worst storys I heard that I can depend upon, but yow see we have all justice done quhen it is demanded however some lying reports ar spread to stir up the mob here, and they have to much success, for now that the forrein trowps ar going for England they meet with horrid injustice. On the twenty sixt of March 1716 the Jacobit partie stird up the mob to that insolence that I am affrayd it may coast the good towne some thowsand pounds. There gwairds missmanaging this affair besides what prejudice it may do them at Cowrt. Evry body belived for some days ther was a child killd at Leith. Evrybody belived my Lord Anandal's howse

at Cragiehall was rifled, and all by foreners Duch or Sweice. Ther are inumberable lies of plunders in the North. It is trow David Symington was almost killd. He is a substantiall tennant in Litle France but that story was represented as the greatest barbarity. But as all the former were lies industriously spread to stir up the mindes of the mobb so the circustances of this story were so favowrable that he deservd what happned. He had two Duch that were going with ther bagage to Dalkeith taking a drink at his howse and they had hyrd a fellow to cary there things for them. The fellow begun to grudge and this landlord wowl'd party his cowntryman so far as to throw off the strangers baggage and so gott himself wownded. Yow see we ar imposd upon even in storys that happen at owr doors and how much more may that lying spirit assert of things on the other side Tay. I designd to introduce the story of owr mob here by thes litle storys that I hope yow will think diverting and they were truly that occasiond this insult. Yow must

know that the forreing officers when they went to Stirling lodgd ther bagage in the Castle here and, now that they were gon of for Dekeith in order to march in to England, there things were all browght from the Castle to the back of the Cowrt of Gwaird to be pact up and follow. Some boys were hunded out to begin and throw stones at the officers' servants and the cry was raisd that that was the plunder from the North going up to England. What made this seem more speciows was that one of the servants had ane hansom targe with bress naills in his hand that his master had in compliment from the Duck of Atholl, and the Duck's name on it. He was insulted and the targe taken from him the mobb incressd and begun to attempt other things of more vallow and the servants endevowrd to defend themselves. One struck abowt him with his sword in the scabart and was taken in by a party of the Gwaird. This still encuragd the mobe and tho now ther was a party of the gwaird sett to keep them off, and the magistrats some of them present, it

did not restrain them but that they run away with some things and forced of the gwaired. But the mobb was repulsd and gott not all the herme done and the baggage was mownted and sent off under cover of a party who were to see them out of the town. The mobb did not disperse but went down the lains to the Cowgate with a hussa and herea. Notwithstanding they were not dispersd the party of the town gwaired went no furder then the Nether Bow and the mobe made ane easie pray of the baggage at the port to the Pleasants. There were things of great wallow both money and plate and fine cloaths and spair armes and the horses were taken away that were hyrd to carry it. I live yow to judge how far the conduct of the town and gwaired ar blamable in this, but for rifling baggage not the 100 of this valow Generall Dalzell made the good town pay 50,000 merks. This is all defended by many and cald a taking from robbers. So we trate ovr freinds and this is the most disafected place now in the nation. The rebell's freinds here ar irritat and desperat

and great numbers of rebels ar lurking in this place. The magistracy is in the hands of self conceited self sufficient men that maltrate and despise ther freinds, and the town must suffer for the insults of enimies and villans. Yow will see how thoughtless the magistrats ar when I tell yow that P[rovost] Campbell, baylies Neilson, Weightman, Dundas, and Telfer, put ther hand at the solicitation of Jacobit freinds to testificats or certificats for one Ramsie that joynd the rebels at Leith and ane other Chalmers that joynd at Ceton hows; the certificat signd by those magistrats and town cowncill bears that the persons behavd themselves honestly and loyally to King George, that they wer burges of ther burgh and tread to England, and were ther surprisd and forcd into the rebellion. This spirit of mobbing is lick to prevail at Leith. Mr Shirife told me he was a good instrument to prevent it that some boys had gott ther pockets full of stons and that they were gethering more numerows to attack no less then a regement of Duch that had landed

ther that day. He run in among the lads and toll'd the biggest that he knew them and they showld be punishd, and some he catchd and beat. He examin'd some of the yownger and they told that they were put upon it by a fellow that told them ther was a Duchman had on a Scots blew bonnet he had taken in the North when he kill'd a man and robd him and they were to revange it and take the bonet from him. Yow see how the busenes might have ended. The children insult first. If the sogers had offred to beat the childring the parants wowl'd have partied the children and so it was hard to tell quher it might have ended with strangers especialy that have not ovr langwage. Generall Cadigan is gon to the hills with two thowsand foot and 400 hors to reduce the Highlands. In his way from Edinburgh he dined with my Lord Rosbery and lay at Hopton's howse all night. Ther were eight prisoners taken in yesterday to the Castle ther ar of the train that came from London lodgd ther and the seven great bress guns as

insufficient ar caryed of to be new cast at London. The taking away the 7 sisters, so we cald the 7 great bres guns, on the half moon was like to breck all the old womens' hearts in town : the reasoning was that was the effects of the Union and that ther were no such cannons in England and that the castle was plunderd and unless yow cowl'd supposd ther wrongside turn'd out at the Cros like a stocking for evry body's conviction ther was no persweading they were useless. But I had my hand in them and fownd they were all huny-combed within such hols as to put in a musket bullet and they were the farder in the worse. Ther ar guns fitter for the purpose mownted in ther place bress guns of 14 12 10 pownders. All the ball for the great cannon ar removd and all the useles bomb shels &c. and ther is as much of evry kind and more in ther place but this does not satisfie the minds of ill temperd people and they impose upon well meaning wake folks, and this perhaps was inducement to mobing, for 'next to the

Crown the 7 sisters were a dear thing and they had indeed been good guns in ther time. They were of 40 pownders and upward. They went away March 23. 24. 26. 27. 1716. I am, Sir, Yowrs.

Edinburgh, March 29, 1716. The College of Aberdeen's adress was presented by on Mr Smith a regent of that Colledg, viz. the Marshall Colledge, but that colledg by appointment of the goverment has been visited and there practices inqwired into by a comitie authorisd for that effect in August 1716, and most of the masters laid aside. My Lord Justise Clerke was preces of that comitie. One of the old professors to be a litle wite confessd his gwilt in a figure he compaird this rebellion to a great mire into quhich some went willingly and some were forced, in quhich some went deeper then others and for his parte he cowl'd not say either his feet or hands were clean, for tho he was not over head and

ears he might be seen knee deep. I belive the fying his hands was signing that adress presented by Mr Smith.

The rebell prisoners that were in the Castle here ar to be tried at Carelyll as ar all the gentlemen prisoners in the other forts and prisons. They went of for their triell September 4, 5, & 6, 1716 under a strong guaird. Ther was ane inconveniencie like to happen in the West Bow as they from the Castle were carryd down in coach. On the 5th of September 1716 some forward lad of aprentice I shall not say was sett upon it but he came up and triped the centry at the coach syde and threw up the dore of the coach and made off in a haste. The centry soon recoverd and run after him and fierd in at the door he went into and wovnded a woman in the legg. There was some other accident undesind happned at the porte by a soldier firing inadvertintly. One of the officers was very neer shot. The prisoners names that went off ar in a printed list I here send yow inclosd. Nott: Evry

body was advertised to be off the streets quhen the prisoners were to pass that ther might be no mobb nor occasion of disturbance. It lookd ominous that that day the gentlemen prisoners passd the Grass-market for to go to Carlile to be tried the instrument of execution called the maiden was set up for ovr poor unhappy unfortunat acqwentance yowng green Hamilton. They wer melancholy at this sight, as some thowght, but I judge it might proceed from there leaving ther native country to be tried among strangers. I wish it had been so ordred ther triels had been here, but now we will be ride of a great dale of disturbance and it will goe no worse I belive with them, for the goverment is not bloodthirsty and non can say wo will be taken out for examples ; but I dout not examples may be made of one or two.

EDINBURGH, *December 24, 1716.*

This day Angely¹ a corporell in the

¹ 'At his execution he said nothing.'—[*Faithful Register of the Late Rebellion*, p. 348.]

Castle that was seduced by Liffenent Thomas Arthowr to betray that fort September was a year, is made a publick example of. The Cowncil of war sat upon that affair and he was apointed to be hanged over the Castle wall this Monday. He seemd to be very penitant and calld for assistance of ministers. He confesd all his temptation was nyn gwinies in hand quherof he gave one to Thomson and ane other to Holland his two accomplices.¹ He was to have a 100 more and comission if it succeded. Arthour used arte besyd to seduce those miserable wretches. He tolld them that the minds of all were bent of have over ther native prince. That it wOULD be without any blood shed, and quhen the fellows said they knew not how to betray ther officers that were so kind to them, Arthowr added 'I told yow it was to be without blood shede and now yow do this it will make it more so quhen we gett this fort so peacebly into our hand. Yow

¹ 'The two soldiers were excused,' and not executed with their principal.—[*Faithful Register of the Late Rebellion*, p. 348.]

know I have been ane officer in that fort quhen ovr contrivence takes effect as I will be of the first that enter I will go first to Collonell Stewart's chamber, and as for Frances Lindsay he is my dear comerad.' Thus they were wrowght over. It is not yet determind what will be done with Thomson and Holland, but Angely now hangs by the neck in a reid coat over the Castle wall neer the posterne gate. To the west syd of that rownd in the wall ther was a gallows erected there on the top of the wall at the place they were to scald. Over one parte of that gallows projects over that the malefactor may hang qwit withowt the wall. He is to hang there for a fowrtnight. He is the only man we have seen suffer here for that unnaturall rebellion and non can be said to have deserved better.

[An additional paragraph inserted.]

Stewart Abercromy was a favowrit at the Pretender's Cowrt at Perth and showd a great dale of zeall in his service. He came over the water after the Swees

and Duch souldiers came down and by promises and bribes induced neer 12 of them to desert over to the rebells and had them carryed cross the water under night from New haven. They scatred by his order when they came to the Fyfe syde and went in 3 and fowrs that they might not be suspected. Two of them were taken at Shirif Brige neer Lesly by a smith and his sone. The smith's name was David Deuer who chalenged them, and upon there not giving ane accownt of themselves carryed them to the garison att Lessly. Abercromy himself with other three were going by a village neer Streurie and some country people seing them came up with them a litle from the village, and chalanged them as deserters, and desired them to returne. The Swees had no fyre armes but drue ther swords. The cowntry fellows who had ther flails and forks defended, and so they mentaind a flying skirmish. The Laird of Streurie seing at a distance the sport sent some of his servants to assist, who, coming in,

they togither masterd the deserters and Abercrombie ther gwid. They browght the deserters along but Abercrome threw himself down on the snow and wowl'd not goe but bid them reither kill him then carry him to certain death, and when they saw there was no forsing him to rise, they took off his hat and weige and after that all his other cloaths not so much as leaving his shirt, but they having no will to carry his person on there back left him to shift for himself in the snow. After they were gon they delivered in ther prisoners and he run naked in the snow to Falckland which is abowt two good miles from the plase. Ther wer 2 of thes Swees shot dead after for ther deserting. This story is attested by the Laird of Streury who saw the whole sqwable.

ACCOUNT OF PRISONERS TAKEN BY
THE DUKE OF ARGYLLE, 1715.

Viscownt of Strathallan, Collonel;
Logie-Almond, Collonel;

Barrowfield, Lieutenant-Colonel ;
Murray of Auchtertire ;
John Ross, Major ;
Captain Thomas Drummond ;
Captain James Drummond ;
Captain Nairn of Baldiven ;
Captain William Hay ;
Captain John Rattrey ;
Captain Auchterlony ;
Captain Da : Gardne ;
Lieutenant Colin M^cenzie ;
Lieutenant Patrick Stewart servant to
 Mr. M^cleod Advocate ;
Lieutenant James Stewart ;
Lieutenant William Adamson ;
Lieutenant John Robertson ;
Ensign George Taylor ;
Ensign Nicol Donaldson ;
Adjutan John M^cclean ;
Lowis Cramond ;
Major Charles Chalmers ;
Captain William Chrichton ;

23.

THE END.

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